

NGĀ PUHI KI NGĀPUHI

A STUDY OF WAIATA FROM THE WAR IN THE NORTH

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Ngā hua o Roto

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Mokori anō ka rere a mihi ki ngā tohunga o te ao mōteatea, arā koutou ngā kairangahau i kohikohia, i tāngia ngā momo mōteatea kia ora ai tēnei taonga a ō tātou tūpuna, tēnei au ka mihi, tēnei au ka tangi.

Ko te pito mate ki te pito mate, ko te pito ora ki te pito ora, e tātou, ngā waihotanga a rātou mā, tēnā koutou. Kei a koutou ngā kōkōmukatūtara a ō tātou whare kōrero i poipoi mai i ahau kia oti pai ngā mahi e whai ake nei, kei te haere tonu ngā mihi.

E te tokotoru o ngā wahine, e ngā tautōhito nā koutou ahau i arahi kia tutuki pai tēnei tuhinga, ki konei au whakamānawa atu ai ki a koutou. Ahakoa rā he Pākehā koutou, he ngākau Māori tō tēnā, tō tēnā, otirā tēnei au e oha atu nei. E te kai arahi matua, ko Jeanette King, i taunaki mai i a au i roto i ēnei mahi, mei kore koe me ōu nā whakaaro rangatira, ka kore rawa tēnei tuhinga e whai huruhuru, e haumāuiui, tēnā koe.

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Kia mōhio ai koutou nā wai ngā mahi nei, kua whakatakotoria e au ōku nei pepeha;

Kei te taha whatukura

Ko Pou e rua te maunga

Ko Taumarere te awa

Ko Mātātua te waka

Ko Ngāti Rāhiri te hapū

Ko Ngāpuhi te iwi

Ko Tūmataunga te marae

Kei te taha māreikura

Ko Whakangē te maunga

Ko Waitātoki te awa

Ko Mamari te waka

Ko Ngāti Kahu te hapū

Ko Ngāpuhi te iwi

Ko Waiaua te marae

Hēoi anō, nōku te hōnore kia whakatutuki tēnei mahi, kia ara ake anō ngā kupu, ngā whakaaro a rātou mā. Kia kore ai ēnei tuhinga tawhito e kohi puehu noa kei ngā pae o te whare pukapuka otirā e runga, e raro, e aku nui, e aku rahi, ko te tūmanako he tuhinga pai tēnei hei kai mā ō mata ā tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa.

Ariā

Abstract

Mōteatea have always been an important part of Māori society; they are often used as a vehicle to express feelings or emotions about a certain topic and or serve as record of one or more significant events. Traditional mōteatea contain symbolism, imagery, metaphors and underlying themes which uniquely express the world views of Māori society. They are an invaluable resource for Te Reo Māori and contribute immensely to the preservation and re-vitalisation of Māori culture. Mōteatea enable knowledge of customs and values to be passed down through the generations and provide a personal insight into the thoughts and existence of those who have passed on. Importantly, collections of mōteatea have contributed to the continuation of Māori oral tradition. This study contains transcriptions, translations and annotations of twenty mōteatea collected from Ngāpuhi by an interpreter, Mr. Duncan during the years of the northern wars of the 1840s between sections of Ngāpuhi. These are preserved as Māori Manuscript 62 in the Sir George Grey collection of Māori manuscripts held by the Auckland City Library. The study includes, where possible, annotations that discuss the political and historical context of the early colonial period.

Chapter 1

Te Whakatakinga

Introduction

He Tūtohutanga

Overview

The primary purpose of this study is to bring into the public domain a group of mōteatea texts. In this dissertation public domain is defined as, the intention to encompass those who have no prior knowledge of mōteatea, Māori history or Māori language.

The group of mōteatea texts is the complete collection from Grey's manuscript 62. Although a number of the mōteatea collated in Grey's manuscript 62 have already been published, and a smaller number translated, this is the first time these mōteatea have been transcribed, translated, annotated and presented as a whole.

It is of high priority to provide excellent translations that align as closely as possible to the Māori text. Where possible any historical, contextual or political information is included to help give a deeper understanding of the purpose and intent of the composition.

Te Whakawhāititanga

Boundaries and limitations

The research does not include any conclusions about Sir George Grey and his methods around collecting the material presented in his collections. There is no critiquing of his often variant publications.

The dissertation does not assess whether there are certain characteristics of style or content that differentiate Ngāpuhi mōteatea from those not of Ngāpuhi origin. A study of regional variation in style is necessary and a task for the future.

In addition, another task for the future is to look into why so many of the mōteatea were not of Ngāpuhi origin and or whether in fact all the mōteatea preserved in manuscript 62 were actually unequivocally collected from the Ngāpuhi region. It has not been included in this

dissertation due to the lack of information readily available and also the impact of time constraints.

Of the mōteatea that comprise this manuscript seven are of Ngāpuhi origin. The remaining mōteatea that make up this manuscript are either from other regions and iwi or have origins which are unknown.

Te Tāpua o te mahi

The Significance of the work

Māori society has suffered on many levels since colonisation. The loss of language and traditional practices must be treated with the same severity as that of land loss and confiscation. Thus the importance to restore the culturally significant items that remain is of high priority.

A predominant reason for undertaking a research project of this nature is to make the mōteatea available to a wider, more general audience. Moreover it is of even higher importance for the descendants of the composers to have access to these taonga.

It is generally known that te reo Māori is no longer as widespread as it once was amongst the Māori people thus to provide translations to assist in the understanding of the material is necessary for those who do not speak te reo.

Often expressed in the saying ‘te reo me ōna tikanga’, in other words, with the Māori language comes its own set of customs. It is fair to say that the majority of Māori who have not had exposure to the language will also have missed out on learning the customs and practices that are a huge part of Māori culture. The material found in this manuscript is of great importance; mōteatea are deeply entrenched in Māori culture and for some even hold spiritual value.

Furthermore Māori who have been raised in urban settings or have not had the pleasure of enjoying traditional upbringings will also lack the knowledge of history that is required when translating or interpreting traditional Māori mōteatea.

The primary function of this dissertation is therefore to provide translations and interpretations so that those who lack the level of understanding of things Māori to interpret them themselves are able to appreciate and learn about the wealth of knowledge that resides in these culturally significant pieces of art.

Taku Hononga

Relationship to this study

The initial attraction to work on a manuscript of this nature was the assumption that it was collected in Te Tai Tokerau. As a descendent of Ngāti Hine, Ngāti Kahu and Ngāpuhi it seemed fitting to acquire a Master of Arts degree while jointly gaining knowledge about ones origins and tribal identity.

Ngata (2009, p.256) expresses in his thesis that mōteatea are the windows in to the mind of the Māori and through grasping an understanding of mōteatea one enters te ao Māori.

Currently Māori performing arts plays a major role in contemporary Māori society. Having enjoyed much of what is offered as a practitioner a project of this sort could prove beneficial in future attempts at composition.

As an active language speaker and teacher, to have a purpose to further ones understanding of a language is most thrilling. The number of language features that are of interest and prevalent in such works as these is invaluable.

Chapter 2

Te Horopaki

Background

Te Tuhinga

The Manuscript

There are untold amounts of Māori mōteatea that exist in periodicals, books and manuscripts throughout the public libraries and archives of New Zealand (Orbell, 1991, p.5). These mōteatea were written down and preserved by both Māori and interested Pākehā. The larger proportion of these mōteatea remains unpublished and unedited.

Manuscript 62 of the Sir George Grey collection of Māori manuscripts is the basis for this study. Housed at the Auckland City Library, manuscript 62 is a compilation of twenty transcriptions of various forms of traditional Māori mōteatea, including both recited and sung styles.

While the term manuscript now includes both handwritten and typed texts that remain unpublished, manuscripts were originally defined as documents written by hand. According to the description of the manuscript provided by the Auckland City Library, as seen in Bleak's catalogue, Grey's manuscript 62 was handwritten by a Mr Duncan and the mōteatea were collected before 1854. The manuscript is of A5 size and is comprised of seventeen leaves encompassing 20 mōteatea. Sir George Grey has also included some notes in the margins and amongst various parts of the text.

The mōteatea do not all come from Ngāpuhi, so in order to provide a clear idea of the manuscripts content the mōteatea have been organised in to the following table. The mōteatea are numbered in the order in which they appear in the manuscript. The information provided, where possible, for each mōteatea includes the title of the mōteatea, the regions from which the mōteatea originate, the genre and the first lines of each mōteatea. All of this information is derived from the information provided in the manuscript.

Table 1. An outline of the mōteatea

<i>No.</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Region</i>	<i>Genre</i>	<i>First line</i>
1			He waiata aroha	E tō e te rā, ki tai o te moana
2		Ngāti Awa	He karakia pure	Koroko whakapupū te uru o te whenua
3		Ngāti Maniapoto	He mākutu	Tukia te papa i uta
4			He waiata aroha	E whiti e te rā, ka hoki au i aku mahara
5	He tangi nā Tārehu	Ngāpuhi	He waiata tangi	Tērā te marama, ka whakawhenua i te pae
6			He waiata aroha	Kāore te aroha i huri i roto rā
7	He waiata nā Tūwhāngai		He waiata	I muri ahiahi takoto ki te moenga
8	He tangi nā Perangi	Ngāpuhi	He waiata tangi	Tērā Tāwera karere o te ata
9			He waiata aroha	Tērā Matariki pikitia i te ripa
10	He hari nā Te Atua Wera	Ngāpuhi	He hari	Ka whawhai, ka whawhai e
11	He tangi nā Te Rangihaeata	Ngāti Toa	He waiata tangi	Taku waka whakairo e
12	He tangi nā Tarawiri	Whanganui	He waiata tangi	Kāhore te aroha i rau i a au e
13	He waiata aroha mō Ruihi		He waiata aroha	Tēnā ka noho ngā piko i Waitomo
14	He tau nā Te Nehurere	Ngāpuhi	He tau	Nā wai, nā wai te ranga i te taua
15			He karakia wehe	He unuhanga a Nuku, he unuhau a Rangi
16	He tangi nā Nawemata	Ngāpuhi	He waiata tangi	Tērā te whetū e kapohia ana mai
17	He tangi nā Hinewhē	Ngāti Toa	He waiata tangi	Kāore te aroha ngau kino i roto rā
18	He tangi mō Te Uawiri mā	Whanganui	He waiata tangi	Kāhore te mamae ngau kino ki te hoa
19	He hari nā Nohotoka	Ngāpuhi	He hari	Whakawhitiwhiti ki tētahi taha
20		Ngāpuhi	He hari	Mauria awheawhe, mauria awheawhe

Deciding on the best way to group or present the mōteatea of the manuscript proved more difficult than anticipated. Due to the fact that a number of the mōteatea pertain to different areas, there is an array of genres included and various mōteatea origins are unknown great thought was needed to best present the mōteatea in a logical manner. Obviously the idea to present them in relation to the areas they pertain to or their origins leaves a selection out as not all the origins are known. If the mōteatea are to be grouped by genre then particular mōteatea which pertain to the same area or even the same event do not necessarily end up together. The idea of presenting the mōteatea individually looked promising however once again where two or more mōteatea were related through context or topic there was nothing interweaving them.

Therefore based on the information above it was decided to present the mōteatea in the following chapters. Chapter four includes all seven of the Ngāpuhi mōteatea, simply because this is the name of the dissertation and it was also one of the main reasons why this research topic was undertaken. From here where there are at least two or more mōteatea from one particular region they are presented accordingly, namely two from Ngāti Toa and two from Whanganui. The remaining mōteatea which are either the only ones from any given region or have unknown origins are grouped according to genre; creating one chapter on karakia and another on waiata aroha.

The explanations of the different genres or classifications of mōteatea found in Grey's manuscript 62 can be found throughout the dissertation. As particular mōteatea arise discussion around the genre occurs. Below is a quick guide to the discussion and definitions of the genres included.

Table 2.

Genre	Page number
Hari	25
Tau	27 (limited information available)
Waiata Tangi	50
Karakia	58
Karakia Pure	62
Mākutu	65
Waiata Aroha	68

Tā Hori Kerei

Sir George Grey

It is important for this study to give a synopsis of Sir George Grey's life. The intention is to broaden the general view of Grey as either a colonial administrator or a controversial politician (Kerr, 2006, p.13) and include his literary contributions. Like most people Grey had other interests beyond his vocation and it is with his interest in Māori culture that this study is most concerned.

Sir George Grey, son of Lieutenant-Colonel Grey and Elizabeth Anne, was born in Portugal 1812 only a few days after his father died in Spain at the Battle of Badajoz (Bohan, 1998, p.16). Grey attended boarding school in England and then entered the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, in 1826. As a young man in 1830 he served six years with his regiment in Ireland. It was there, as a witness to the depression caused by the English, which stimulated Grey's curiosity in marginalised people (Sinclair, 1990, p.160).

Subsequent to expeditions through Western Australia, which would not exactly be considered successful, Grey's interest for indigenous cultures developed. A report produced by Grey for the secretary of state, Lord John Russell, outlining possible strategies to promptly integrate two races, gained Grey a promotion and he was soon after appointed as the third governor of South Australia from 1841 to 1845 (Sinclair, 1990, p.160).

Sinclair asserts that while the economic state of Australia during Grey's governorship was reasonably successful, Grey's native policy proved inadequate. Thus, Aborigines and settlers were often in conflict (Sinclair, 1990, p.161). Australia would prove to be only but a training ground for what Grey was about to face once he received the governorship of New Zealand.

Grey can be described as one of the most influential individuals of 19th century New Zealand. Serving as Governor on two occasions, firstly from 1845 to 1853 and then again from 1861 to 1868, would allow Grey to play a major role in the maturity of New Zealand politics. He would have further effect when he was later elected Premier by Parliament on 13 October 1877.

Equally and more pertinent to this study, Grey would also leave a lasting impression on New Zealand literature. While not occupied with his political duties Grey developed an interest for languages and culture. Having printed his, 'Vocabulary of the Dialects of South Western Australia', in Perth in 1839, he began to collect and translate Māori mythology, proverbs and poetry during his sojourn in New Zealand.

In 1848 a lot his collected of material was lost when Government House burnt down, this however would not hinder Grey, he persevered and in 1853 he published, 'Ko ngā mōteatea me ngā hakirara o ngā Māori'. Due to the fact that this piece of work was published in te reo Māori with no translations it appealed only to a small audience.

His next book in the following year, 'Ko ngā mahinga a ngā tūpuna Māori', would prove to be, most definitely at the time and more than likely still today, one of the most important collections of Māori myths and legends ever comprised.

Considered by some as Grey's masterpiece, 1855 would see the publication, 'Polynesian Mythology, and Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealand Race'. It contains translations of works presented in earlier publications which made it more appealing to a wider audience.

Grey admits in the extensive preface of this publication that he felt responsible to learn Māori culture, traditions, customs and language so he could competently fulfill his role as Governor of New Zealand.

I soon perceived that I could neither successfully govern, nor hope to conciliate, a numerous and turbulent people, with whose language, manners, customs, religion, and modes of thought I was quite unacquainted (Grey, 1855, p.iii).

So it is not surprising that Grey possessed three publications pertaining to the Māori language. These included *Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language of New Zealand* (1820) by Lee and Kendall with input by Hongi Hika and Waikato, *A Grammar of the New Zealand Language* (1842) by the Reverend Robert Maunsell, *A Dictionary of the New Zealand Language*, and a *Concise Grammar; to which is added a Selection of Colloquial Sentences*

(1844) by William Williams. There was only one other publication available by 1845 and although Grey did not own a copy of, *A Korao no New Zealand* (1815) by Thomas Kendall, he obtained a word list compiled by the author of the same publication (Kerr, 2006, p.75-76).

Furthermore, it is important to the content of this dissertation that the next section be dedicated to the scribe of the material.

Te Kaitā

The Scribe

Grey enlisted a number of Māori and non-Māori from all around New Zealand to collect or document aspects of Māori culture in Te Reo. The idea was to accumulate a number of written materials that would be used to assist Grey in his study of Māori language and Māori culture (Grey, 1855, p.vii). Grey was not the only Pākehā interested in things Māori and similar processes were also adopted by others. While Te Rangikaheke is often considered by many as Grey's principal Māori informant there were others such as Tamihana Te Rauparaha and Himiona Te Wehi. The Pākehā collectors that Grey also received manuscripts from included German missionary J. H. F. Wohlers, the Presbyterian missionary James Duncan, and the Reverend Robert Maunsell (Kerr, 2006, p.78). It is through this process that Grey more than likely received manuscript 62.

The mōteatea in this manuscript were collected by an ambiguous interpreter, Mr Duncan, during and around the early New Zealand wars. Using research methods in an attempt to identify Mr Duncan, there were a number of possibilities that surfaced. The most likely discovery however was William Duncan, listed as an interpreter at Russell, on a salary of 150 pounds in Mr Clendon's department, Hokianga. Aside from that information, unfortunately there is very little about William Duncan.

There is an archive reference CS 1 Box 1 1848/66 R20693000 which contains inward correspondence to the Civil Secretary from the Colonial Secretary entitled "Relative to advance of [pounds] paid to Duncan" 18th August 1848, however after sending a request through to Archives New Zealand the files are no longer available.

It is rather intriguing that there are no particulars about Mr Duncan included or documented as part of the manuscript, not even his full name. When reading Grey's 'Polynesian Mythology, an Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealand Race' it becomes clear, in the preface, that Grey is rather unclear about the process adopted in collecting the Māori material for his manuscripts. In fact Grey does not disclose his methods at all.

I worked at this duty in my spare moments in every part of the country I traversed, and during my many voyages from portion to portion of the Islands. I was also always accompanied by natives, and still at every possible interval pursued my inquiries into these subjects (Grey, 1855, p.viii).

Grey fails to mention the names of his informants; instead he concentrates on his own efforts to obtain the source material. Although he mentions that he was accompanied by some Māori, he gives no clear indication of who these Māori people were. Essentially Grey fails to acknowledge those Māori and non-Māori who either collected or were actual writers of the manuscripts. It is this very avoidance that effectively erases the literary achievements of numerous individuals who contributed to his works, Mr Duncan included.

Chapter 3

Te Huarahi

Method

There is no one particular system to translating mōteatea nor is it a simple or straightforward task. The following five step system reveals the approach undertaken to complete this dissertation.

Table 3. Five step system

Step	Method
1	Te Whakatāruatanga - Transcription
2	Te Rangahau – The Search
3	Te Whakapākehātanga – Translation
4	Ngā kōreroa taunaki – Annotations
5	Te Paenga Rangatira – Consultation

Te Whakatāruatanga

Transcription

The first step was to transcribe the material contained in Grey's manuscript 62. The material is handwritten in quill pens with ink in the writing style of the nineteenth century, so the need to transfer the words from the page into an electronic format was necessary. Some describe this as a technical process (Erim, 1990, p.61) while others including O'Regan (1992, p.25) make reference to qualities of the transcriber. Both are relevant and useful here as is the case for readable texts it is simply a technical process. However, in the more difficult parts of transcription, knowledge of Māori words and grammar can assist in making calculated guesses as identified in the process outlined below.

In the initial stages, transcribing material from photocopies of the manuscript, sourced from the University of Canterbury Library, raised some issues. Certain areas of the text that did not copy well made it extremely difficult to decipher certain letters, words, and in some cases, even whole sentences. Added to this were notes that Grey had written either in the margin or amongst the text which confused matters even further. Thankfully all the waiata were written by the one hand, Mr Duncan's, so over time one was able to familiarise oneself with the style of writing, making the task at hand somewhat more achievable.

In an effort to solve some of the problems encountered it became apparent that a journey to the Auckland City Library to study the original text would be necessary. Surprisingly enough the originals were in rather good condition and various areas of concern were able to be read quite effortlessly.

With regard to the areas of text that remained difficult to read it was essential to make a calculated guess based on context, style and, where possible, correlations with other versions of the text.

Furthermore, in order for the reader to identify any slight adjustments or brackets have been used [] when adding to the work. Other major adjustments are footnoted.

Te Rangahau

The Search

The next step was to search for any earlier publications and or previously translated versions of any of the mōteatea. During the research period, many published waiata collections by the following scholars were scaled in the attempt to identify any of the mōteatea, Sir George Grey (1853); C.O.B. Davis (1855); Richard Taylor (1855, 2nd edition 1870); Edward Shortland (1854, 2nd edition 1856); John White (1887-1890); John McGregor (1893-1908); Stevenson Percy Smith (1910); and Sir Apirana Ngata and Pei Te Hurinui (1959-1990). After an extensive search through these collections, not all of the mōteatea from Grey's manuscript 62 were found. Of those that were not published in these collections some were found elsewhere. In the case of those mōteatea that are described in this dissertation as having no known published source, it is to say that they are not located in the waiata collections outlined above. Furthermore, this means that they may in fact exist in publications elsewhere.

Te Whakapākehātanga

Translation

Grey describes the difficulties he faced in learning a language that he thought 'a very difficult one to understand thoroughly' as it 'varied altogether in form from any of the ancient or

modern languages' which he knew (Grey, 1855, p.vi). The opening lines here are simply used to convey the difficulties of having a complete understanding of the Māori language and all its intricacies. When contemplating this, not only in the context of translation but in the translation of mōteatea a number of considerations arise.

When embarking on this particular research project the initial and most important question that needed to be answered was, why translate the mōteatea? An enormous amount of energy was consumed working to resolve this matter, from the beginning right through to the end this question was continually revisited.

There have been a number of Māori and non-Māori scholars who have studied these materials and many of these writers, when dealing with mōteatea, often translated them. The primary purpose for translating these works was simply to make them more accessible to a wider audience. Due to this fact we have seen this material slowly but surely become available to the general public. Some of the most active Māori in this field include Sir Apirana Ngata and Pei Te Hurinui Jones and some of the non-Māori; to name a few, include Margret Orbell and Barry Mitcalfe.

The reasoning behind Ngata translating a large assortment of mōteatea was to develop Māori literature for further research inquiry, essentially treating te reo in the same manner as classical Greek and Hebrew. Interestingly it seems that this continues to be the only valid reason for translation to endure or continue to occur. Translation was and is still necessary in assisting to make culturally significant material more available.

The next consideration was the fact that even if the translations are of a high level the translations will never be of equivalent value to the original. Many of the issues encountered with the translation of these mōteatea are addressed in an article 'Ka Mahuta' by Raukura Roa (2003). Roa questions any assumption that it is always possible to convey the same or similar meanings in two different languages: "Whereas this may be the case where simple transactional communication is involved, it is highly questionable in the case of culturally specific or artistic texts" (Roa, 2003, p.4). She further contends that, although translation is often necessary and may be useful as a means of disseminating culturally significant material, it can never be an adequate substitute for the original text. Therefore, the limitations inherent

in translation need to be understood, and the purpose of the translation needs to be clearly reflected in the process employed and in the finished translation.

Ngata (1959, p. vi) also notes, in the context of a discussion of Palmer (1958), no matter how brilliant the translation, how apt the phrase or vivid the image, the English version is no substitute for the original Māori. We are reading the poetry of a people in the language of that people and the English version should be an aid to further and more intensive study of the Māori text.

Another consideration when translating these mōteatea was not to convert them to poetry like many writers have done in the past. It was simply to provide translations that assist in conveying the meaning of and help in interpreting these often cryptic mōteatea. Cryptic in that metaphorical nature of the text contains symbolism, imagery and underlying themes which uniquely express the world views of Māori society. It was almost inevitable that the translation process would lose some of the beauty and insight that can only be understood in the Māori language.

Below is an example of a section, which highlights the differences between a simple translation that conveys the meaning of the mōteatea, as found in He Tangi nā Hinewhē located in chapter five, He toa nō Ngāti Toa, of this dissertation and an extravagant poetry-like conversion given by Buick (1911, p.xv):

Taku rata tū tahi, taku whakamarumarū

Unuhia noatia i waenga i te hono

I te nui Ati Toa, tē kapohia koe

I te matawhaura, i te rangamārō

Te ngutu o te pū, kia pā te karanga

“E tama mā e, ka rere au ki te pō”

(simple translation):

My chief, my protector

Taken away from amidst the people

Of Ngāti Toa, you were not taken

During the battle, by a war party

Or by the barrel of a gun, so we could hear the call

“Boys, I am crossing to darkness”

(Buick’s translation):

Our shelter and defence to be
But helplessly ah, helplessly wast thou
Plucked sword-like from the heart of all thy host,
Thy thronging "Children of the Brave,"
With none to save!
Not amid glaring eyes;
Not amid battle cries,
When the desperate foes
Their dense ranks close:
Not from the lips of the terrible guns
Thy well-known cry resounding o'er the heath:
"Now, now, my sons!
Now fearless with me to the realms of Death!"
Not thus, not thus, amid the whirl of war,
Were thou caught up and borne away afar!

According to Rosslyn, the focus of the translator has shifted from an attempt to recreate greatness (to “reproduce the greatness of his [sic] original, by whatever means” (1997 p. 41)), to an attempt to secure as high a degree of accuracy and faithfulness to the source text as possible. There is now “[a] preference for ‘natural’ sounding translation and the presumption is that ‘accuracy’ is the essence of the translator’s task” (Rosslyn, 1997, p. 41).

Roa also argues that the communicative function of the source language should take precedence over its signification. She contends that, in certain cases, such as the translation of Māori waiata:

If the function of the translation is to communicate as much as possible of the original text in order to make readers as aware as possible of the history and culture reflected in that text, it may be unwise to depart too far from the signification in the search for a

way of communicating the textual functions appropriately in the target language (Roa, 2003, p.7).

In providing translations of waiata, Ngata's primary purpose was to convey the meaning of the source text in a way that was as faithful as possible to the source text. This meant that where imagery and symbols had particular historical or cultural significance, they were retained, and an explanation was provided where considered necessary.

Tipene (2008, p.4) states that because the exact form in which a function is articulated may have 'hidden' within it important cultural information he refers to Roa who makes a strong case for the use of a 'gloss translation', where any images and symbols of particular historical or cultural significance are retained, and footnotes added to ensure the text is fully comprehensible. A gloss translation enables the reader to identify 'as fully as possible' with a person in the source language context, and to understand "as much as possible of the customs, manner of thought, and means of expression" (Roa, 2003, p.8) of that person.

Roa's (2003) primary aim in the translation of 'Ka Mahuta', was to provide information about the meanings encoded in the waiata, as well as pertinent cultural and historical information. Where possible this dissertation also attempts to follow this particular process.

Ngā Kōrero Taunaki

Annotations

There are a number of symbols, themes, images and formulaic phrases in mōteatea that were understood by the intended audience at the time of composition. However since there is now a huge gap between the setting and context for which a number of the mōteatea were composed and that of the contemporary society we live in today, the language features that were in constant use at the time are no longer understood by the unfamiliar ear. Annotations are therefore a useful tool to provide further meaning to such language features.

The following quote from Mitcalfe argues that annotations or what he refers to as 'explanatory notes' are necessary where translation is problematic, "imagery drawn from a mythological frame, accepted and known by all is common. It is therefore compressed and

highly allusive, so that translation is impossible without extensive explanatory notes” (Mitalfe, 1974, p.11).

Roa (2003, p.16) alludes to the challenges encountered when attempting to concentrate translations, by referring to the effort of Jones (1959) and Ngata (1959, p.xxi):

The Māori language in poetical compositions admits of brevity which cannot always be imitated successfully in English. There are idioms of the language for which there are no parallel in the English, and it is in this regard a translator often encounters the chief difficulty, or in those turns of expression which do not occur in English grammar, but which are proper to the Māori.

As idioms, symbols and imagery are entrenched in the Māori culture, it is difficult to ascertain in the translation process how best to explain these aspects and ensure their significance is maintained. Roa (2003, p.16) argues that annotations play a pivotal role in conveying these important aspects to the reader, Roa uses this observation by Ngata (1959, p.xxi) to support her argument:

The signification of many words...depend...on the theme of the composition or on the circumstances under which the original work was composed. In this respect the annotations . . . have been most helpful, especially where the sense of the composer is doubtful, or where more than one meaning can be given to the passage or expression.

Annotations for the mōteatea include any important information that can shed further light on the translation of the mōteatea. Assorted mōteatea clearly have specific events that they relate to, while others provide us with very little information at all. Explanations of symbols, metaphors or images used in the works are also elaborated upon. Place names where possible have small descriptions to inform the reader of their location. Upon the occasion where a person's name is mentioned, if there is any known knowledge about the individual this is also included in the annotations.

Te Paenga Rangtira

Consultation

Throughout the course of this research it became apparent that a period of consultation with kaumātua, supervisors and local authorities would be beneficial to the project.

It was decided that the mōteatea with known origins, would be submitted to kaumātua from that particular area for review. It was an integral part of the translation process as these consultations could provide a platform for the kaumātua to share their knowledge. In particular their assistance would be sought in matters relating to interpretation of lyrics and also whether they had a personal recollection of the mōteatea. However in reality, this did not happen. Due to the circumstances relating to one's personal life, time constraints and natural disasters, our kaumātua were unable to fulfill this request, thus proving less effective than was first envisaged.

In relation to supervisors and local authorities, an evaluation process was set up. As there are many intricacies with this type of research, another person with different ideas and perspectives reviewing this dissertation would be fundamental in order for development to occur. The knowledge and expertise of the supervisors who were approached to assist, as well as the local authorities of the area, made suggestion, offered their opinion in terms of possible changes to be made, and also provided other resources in which to investigate for answers. They were all able to offer their perspective as to what aspects of this dissertation were missing and any gaps in information they could see.

Chapter 4

Ngā puhi ki Ngāpuhi



Map 1. Ngāpuhi area showing Taumatatutu, Kororareka, Ruapekapeka and Ohaeawai.

The chapter entitled ‘Ngā puhi ki Ngāpuhi’ contains the seven mōteatea within manuscript 62 which pertain to the ‘Northern War’. The Northern War or the British pursuit of Hone Heke and Kawiti was not a war fought between Māori and the Crown. It was a little more complex than that and involved the Crown and two divisions of Ngāpuhi. The division in opposition to the Crown was led by Hone Heke. The Crown however had a section of Ngāpuhi who supported them; they were led by Tamati Waka Nene. It has been suggested that Tamati Waka Nene was not necessarily in support of the Crown’s interests rather he was glad to have found a useful ally in the Crown to settle his historic disputes with Heke.

Following the sacking of Kororāreka there were three major engagements, these were fought at Taumatatūtū, Ōhaeawai and Ruapekapeka. All four dealings are described in more depth throughout the chapter as mōteatea from each skirmish or battle are presented.

He Hari nā Nohotoka

Sadly there is no information available about Nohotoka, the composer of this ‘hari’. We can determine from the caption in Māori, at the top of the manuscript that this ‘hari’ was composed at Kororāreka¹. There are no known publications of this piece.

Keeping in the timeframe of the manuscript as a whole and more specifically with the other Ngāpuhi mōteatea presented here we can ascertain that the hari below was collected somewhere around the mid to late forties of the nineteenth century. Kororāreka, now known as Russell, is a town situated in the Bay of Islands. In this period Kororāreka was the seat of government and the location of the British flagpole that was cut down on four occasions by Hone Heke and his men. The last attempt to destroy the flagpole, 11 March 1845, doubled as an attack on the town. The sacking of Kororāreka would stimulate the British pursuit of Heke and Kawiti.

The ‘hari’ is an interesting genre, one which is a little unclear. ‘Hari’ is defined by Williams as a dance or a song and ‘harihari’ as a song to make people pull together (Williams, 1971, p.37-38). McGregor has an example of a ‘hari’ in ‘Popular Māori Songs’ that greets the sun, it is deemed a recited song of rejoicing. He quotes John Savage, ‘on the rising of the sun, the air is cheerful, the arms are spread out as a token of welcome, and the whole action denotes a great deal of unmixed joy’ (McGregor, 1898, p. 21).

Another song and dance which is labelled a ‘hari kai’ is that which accompanies the presentation of food to guests. There are a number of accounts explaining the songs and dances composed for food carrying processions (McLean, 1996, p. 90). Many of them speak of women and girls carrying baskets of food, marching in line singing and performing short posture dances (Buck, 1950, p. 377).

¹ Nā Nohotoka ki Kororareka

In McLean's discussions on Māori fighting and dancing nude he quotes an example from Buck of a war dance belonging to Ngāti Raukawa. The imagery expressed in the opening lines is similar to the 'hari' transcribed below, "āwhea tō ure ka riri, āwhea tō ure ka tora? When will your penis become enraged, when will your penis become erect" (Buck, 1950, p. 510)?

Whakawhitiwhiti ki tētahi taha

Ō mau koro pakoko e, pakoko e

Ā, pakoko te raho² o Toka Taiawa³ e

He riri kore, tē pakō ai te raho o Toka Taiawa

Pakoko e, pakoko e.

Turn over to one side

Look it is shrivelled, shrivelled

Shrunken is the penis of Toka Taiawa

It is useless; Toka Taiawa cannot become erect

Shrivelled, shrivelled.

² References to a male organ or an erect penis are regarded by Māori as a figurative sign of courage or virility (Vayda, 1960, p. 58), in this instance the composer is more likely making reference to the lack of courage.

³ No information about Noho Toka has been sourced.

He Hari

A version of this hari was published in Capetown (Grey, 1857, p. 28) and is titled, ‘Ko te Tau a Hone Heke ki a Kāwana’. A ‘tau’ can be defined as a song and the term ‘hari’ was discussed in depth in, ‘He hari nā Nohotoka’. There are some slight differences in the two versions, the published and the original manuscript, which have been noted in the footnotes. It is difficult to determine whether this ‘hari’ was intended for Grey himself during his time as Governor or if it was composed slightly earlier than that and intended for Fitzroy. It seems more plausible however that it was composed for Governor Fitzroy during the initial breakout of conflict in Kororāreka.

Presuming that Grey is correct, this hari was composed by Hone Wiremu Heke Pokai, or more popularly known as Hone Heke. Named after his uncle Pokaia, Heke was born in Pakaraka as the third son of Te Kona and Tupanapana. Affiliated to Ngāpuhi he was connected to the hapū Ngāti Rāhiri, Ngāi Tawake, Ngāti Tautahi, Te Matarahurahu and Te Uri o Hua (Kawharu, 2007).

Despite the fact that Heke was a ‘teina’ in his immediate family he belonged to a senior line and descended directly from Rāhiri⁴, entitling him to trusteeship and command over the Kaikohe to Waimate region and parts of the Bay of Islands.

Sadly Heke would not have an heir. He did have two children, Hoani and Marianne, to his first wife Ono, but they would not live past infancy. Following the death of Ono, Heke married Hariata Rongo, daughter of Hongi Hika, who despite a third marriage at a last attempt to conceive a successor would nurse Heke to his death.

Heavily influenced by missionaries during his upbringing, Heke was eventually converted to Christianity. He did not however turn away from his life as a warrior. Battles throughout the 1830’s would act as a training ground for Heke where he successfully distinguished himself. Subsequently Heke played an important role in what is commonly referred to as the ‘New Zealand Wars’.

⁴ The paramount ancestor of Ngāpuhi.

After the signing of the Treaty Hone Heke become disillusioned with the effects of colonisation. He felt that the Treaty was not being honoured and that government policies were detrimental for Māori (Kawharu, 2007). Perceiving the flagpole as a symbol of suppression, Heke sent a party to cut down the flagpole on 8 July 1844. Heke insisted that Governor Fitzroy raise a Māori flag. This did not happen, and on 10 January 1845 the flagpole would come down again. Fitzroy responded by offering a reward for the capture of Heke (King, 1981, p. 50). It is probable that circumstances like these would provoke Heke to compose an item like the one transcribed and translated below. This is because the composer has heard of threats posed against him and reacts by challenging and insulting his adversary.

Mauria awheawhe, mauria awheawhe⁵

I hara mai koe⁶ i ngā whērua

E, ko te tangata tuhituhi tara mauria⁷

E rangona nei e au

Purutia mai, koia te tama a Kaweka⁸

Kia mau, aha, kia mau⁹.

Grasp it, take hold

You who comes from the female ancestors

The person who points his cock clasped¹⁰

That I hear of

Thrust your cock this way

Stand fast, stand fast.

⁵ Mauria awheawhe is written as one word in Grey's version.

⁶ The most significant difference occurs in this line where Grey inscribes, 'I te Toihau i a Ngawerua'.

⁷ Mauria in Grey's transcription is spelt maurea.

⁸ Referred to in Williams as, 'pudenda muliebria' (1971, p.111), most likely used as a metaphoric term for the sexual organs.

⁹ There is an extra 'kia mau' at the end of the version printed by Grey which does very little to the meaning but is worth noting all the same.

¹⁰ Is similar to a 'kai-ure' ritual which serves as a protective mechanism against magic from another or side effects of one's personal charms (Tremewan, 2002, p.276).

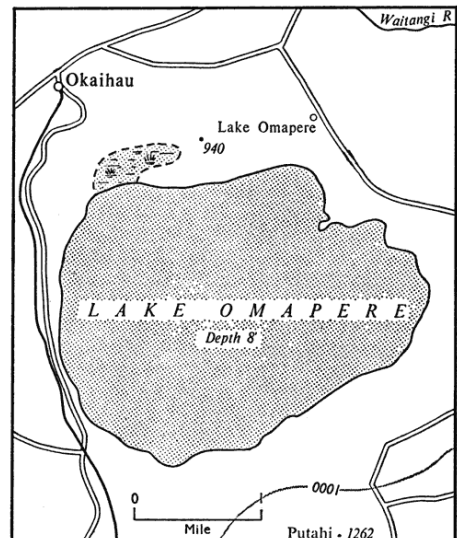
He Tangi nā Perangi

The manuscript informs us that this lament was composed by Perangi for her husband who died at Taumatatūtū in May 1845¹¹. After an extensive period of research there was no information about Perangi or her husband, presumably Karu, as mentioned in the lyrics.

More commonly referred to as Puketūtū, Taumatatūtū was the location of the first battle of what is now considered as the Northern War. The pā itself, Te Kāhika or otherwise known as Māwhe (Maning, 1948, p.233), belonged to Heke and was situated next to Lake Ōmāpere about two miles from Ōkaihau.

Following the sacking of Kororāreka, Colonel William Hulme arrived at the Bay of Islands with soldiers, marines and volunteers numbering about 460. At the end of April 1845 the expedition trudged through awful weather in preparation to attack Heke at his newly constructed pā.

Despite the fact that Reverend Robert Burrows tried on two or more occasions to make peace by visiting Heke, Heke refused to give the British commander the satisfaction of surrendering. Instead Heke waited behind his supposed impenetrable defences.



Map 2. Lake Ōmāpere near Ōkaihau

On the morning of the 8 May 1845 the British force advanced and with fixed bayonets the attack began. Twelve rockets were fired but had very little effect, something that Māori accredited to Te Atua Wera and his spirit Nakahi (Maning, 1948, p.237).

Kawiti, who had come to aid Heke in his efforts, remained outside the pā along with his three hundred warriors. During the attack Kawiti organised strategic strikes to the rear of the British.

¹¹ The caption at the top of the transcription is as follows, 'nā Perangi mō tana tāne i mate ki Taumatatūtū i te horonga o Mei/45'.

After more than four hours of skirmishing and heavy bayonet fighting it seemed as though Heke would succeed. Withdrawn by the sound of a bugle, Hulmes men were famished, disheartened and cold. Taumatātūtū was considered a victory for Māori for they maintained possession of their pā. Although the exact number of Māori deaths cannot be ascertained, the loss was severe, estimates have been made at around thirty (Cowan, 1922, p.46).

An in depth account of the events that took place at this battle can be found in, ‘Old New Zealand: A tale of the good old times’ (Maning, 1948, p.215). This account is of particular interest as it is told by an old chief of the Ngāpuhi tribe who, although was fighting as an ally to the British, was present throughout the battles that make up the Northern War.

Tērā Tāwera, karere o te ata
Hēngia pōuri tēnei ka ora mai
Me pēheatia te hāpae¹² o te pū?
Taha mauītia, ka hē i reira
Haere rā, e Karu, i te riri hunuhunu
I te iwi tuku tahi, i te nui Āti Hine
Tēnei taku toto, te pāheke i raro rā
He wai whakamatara nōu, e te hoia
Ka whati rā e, te tihi ki te maunga¹³
Unuhia ake rā te taniwha i te rua¹⁴
Tere ānini ana ki roto Ōmāpere
Ka hari rā te wahine Āti Hau¹⁵
Ka riro i a ia taku tōtara haemata rā.

There is Tāwera,¹⁶ the herald of the morning

¹² A likely variant for ‘hāpai’.

¹³ In this context the leader is viewed as the pinnacle of the people.

¹⁴ This is a metaphor which likens death to a taniwha, which will emerge to consume you.

¹⁵ Creating an image of celebration by the enemy.

The pain has passed and I survive
How should weapons be held?
In the left hand, that will fail
Farewell Karu in the loot of warfare
With the visiting party Ngāti Hine¹⁷
This is my blood that falls
Because you have departed, o warrior
The peak of the mountain has broken
The taniwha has come out of his lair
Rapidly the pain extends to Ōmāpere
The Ngāti Hau¹⁸ woman is happy
She has gained my strong chief.

¹⁶ Tāwera is the planet Venus in the morning, there are alternate names for Venus at other times of the day.

¹⁷ Ngāti Hine descends from the female ancestor Hineamaru.

¹⁸ Ngāti Hau descends from the ancestor Hautakowera, it comprises of marae located in areas from the Waihou Valley in Okaihau to Pehiawiri.

He Hari nā Te Atua Wera

A large portion of this hari, referred to by Grey as a mata or prophecy, can be found in ‘Ko ngā Mōteatea me ngā Hakirara o ngā Māori’ (Grey, 1853, p. 149). James Cowan later published and translated the same version in his book on the New Zealand Wars (Cowan, 1922, p. 69). Other translations of the entire piece appear in Buddle (1851, p. 23) and in the biography of Papahurihia (Binney, 2007).

A small caption at the top of the manuscript explains that it was composed by Te Atua Wera. Te Atua Wera, also known as Papahurihia, belonged to both the Ngāti Hau and Te Hikutū hapū of Ngāpuhi. Recognised as a leading tohunga of Ngāpuhi and quite possibly the greatest tohunga of his time (Webster, 1908, p. 259), Te Atua Wera was renowned for holding conversations with the spirits of the dead. Multitudes from a hundred mile radius would gather for the opportunity to communicate with their dead, so it is no wonder then that in 1845 Hone Heke would request Te Atua Wera to consult his spirit, Nakahi, to determine the outcome of the upcoming battle at Taumatātūtū. One could presume the foretelling was positive as Te Atua Wera then joined Heke at Taumatātūtū and claimed to have used his power to turn away the rockets. From this point Te Atua Wera became the primary war tohunga for Hone Heke. He aided Heke at Te Ahuahu but unfortunately they were defeated. According to Te Atua Wera, Heke had failed to adhere to the customs of battle by obtaining a cartridge box from a dead adversary. Without the spirits onside Heke was injured and all Te Atua Wera could do was make them invisible to the enemy as Heke was carried off to safety. Later that year in July, Te Atua Wera was present at the siege of Ohaeawai where this hari was composed to foretell victory.

Ohaeawai pā, situated to the east of Kaikohe, was built and designed in the most part by Kawiti. Constructed around trenches with inner and outer palisades Ohaeawai pā was able to absorb artillery fire and provide safe and concealed positions for Māori riflemen. After days of fire with minimal results Colonel Henry Despard, the head of the British, became frustrated. With the weather deteriorating he ordered a disastrous attack on the pā. Māori were able to shoot from ground level and the British were unsuccessful in breaking through

the palisades. A retreat was sounded and the British suffered with the most deaths and casualties.

Grey describes this hari as a ‘horrible war song’ and explains that it was performed immediately after the bloody and fatal repulse of the British. Cowan tells of a white haired tattooed warrior cutting a portion of George Philpot’s scalp from his slain body in preparation for an incantation called ‘whāngaihau’, an offering of the first battle trophy to Tūmatauenga.¹⁹ With up tossed guns and tomahawks they completed this tradition with a tūtūngarahau²⁰ and from there moved into this hari. The soldiers heard this as great shouting and screaming and naively assumed it to be one of their men being tortured, but in fact what they were listening to was the tohunga, Te Atua Wera, possessed by a spirit performing this hari.

Ka whawhai, ka whawhai e!

Ka whawhai ki roto ki te awa e

Puare katoa ake nei e²¹, ka whawhai!

Kīhai koe i mau atu ki tō kāinga

Ki Oropi²² e, i te akinga mai a Wharewhare

Ki a Ihu Karaiti me te pukapuka

Ka taka ki tua

Ki taikarekare²³ i taku kumu kei raro ii.²⁴

Fight, fight!

¹⁹ The Māori deity of war

²⁰ A tūtūngarahau is a war dance.

²¹ Grey notes in the margin of the original manuscript, ‘The world of bad spirits has all opened again’.

²² A variation of Ūropi.

²³ Possibly another word for or similar to the paepae hamuti, the horizontal beam of a latrine.

²⁴ These particular lines display that Te Atua Wera had hatred for Christ and the scriptures. This is interesting as Te Atua Wera is quoted as uttering these words before an earlier battle, “you who pray to the god of the missionaries, continue to do so and in your praying see you make no mistakes. Fight and pray. Touch not the spoils of the slain, abstain from human flesh, lest the European god should be angry, and be careful not to offend the Māori gods. It is good to have more than one god to trust to”. It is possible that these lines merely show the Māori gods to be superior in this instance.

Fight in the valley
Where everything is exposed, fight!
You were not taken to your home
To Europe, by the force of Wharewhare²⁵
To Jesus Christ and the book²⁶
Fall aside
Below to the sitting pole by my backside.

Whether the power or insight of Te Atua Wera had any effect in determining the outcome of the battle at Ōhaeawai cannot be ascertained. It can be said however that Ōhaeawai was a significant victory for both Ngāpuhi and for Māori.

Belich has argued that Māori revolutionised trench warfare at this battle (1986, p.49). While he acknowledges that trenches had been used prior to Ōhaeawai in his opinion they had not been exploited to the extent in which they were at this siege. The idea that Māori were able to use trench warfare to match the military capability of their enemy most certainly puts Ōhaeawai on the world military history map.

²⁵ No information about Wharewhare has been sourced, possibly a reference to a renowned tipuna?

²⁶ The book is more than likely a reference to the Bible.

He Tangi nā Nawemata

The lament transcribed and translated here was composed by Nawemata for her husband who died at the battle of Ruapekapeka. First published by Grey (1853, p. 346) this lament was later translated and re-published in Simmons (2003, p. 126). Simmons suggests the idea that Grey may have obtained this song from Aperahama Taonui while he was recuperating at Grey's house early after the battle of Ruapekapeka commenced. Simmons goes on to propose that Nawemata and her husband were fighting on the British side for Tamati Waka Nene which is highly likely.

Tērā te whetū e kapohia ana mai
Ka rumaki Matariki²⁷ ka rere Tāwera²⁸
Kapohia, e hine, te atarau²⁹ o te rangi
Kapua whakatū i runga o Tapuae
Tō tupuna rā e, e moe whakaurunga
Kāti nā, ki te mana haere noa koe ki te riri tāwhai
Te whana kāwhaki ki mua ki te upoko
Ā rāngia a koe [e] te ahi a te tupua
I tā te mamae rā, ka kai ki te kiri
E rewa tō toto e, i ngā one taitea
I runga te Pekapeka e, he paenga rangatira³⁰
Te pito kauika i te ipo i a au e
Mā wai e ranga i tō mate i te ao?³¹
Mā kāhore noa iho e, whakamutua te riri
Tō ana te marino i muri o tō tuara

²⁷ The Māori term for the star system Pleiades.

²⁸ Tāwera is referred to as the morning star, the planet Venus.

²⁹ Originally written as 'atarao'

³⁰ This particular line draws on the image of whales stranded on the shoreline.

³¹ A common formulaic phrase.

E hine e, tū tāne koa
Tīkina, takahia ngā whare kōrero
There the star shimmers
Matariki sets as Tawera rises
Girl, the light of the heavens shimmers
Clouds arise above Tapuae
Your ancestor there sleeping on a pillow
Pride is why you went to the enemy's battle
Charging forward to the head of the regiment
You are exposed to the guns of terror
The pain eats away at the skin
Your blood flowing over the white earth
Upon Pekapeka, a place of fallen chiefs
The offering of my love lying stranded
Who will avenge your death in this world?
Nobody, the battle is ending
Peace is coming behind your back
Girl, stand as a man
Proceed and interrupt the meeting houses.

He Tau nā Te Nehurere

The lament provided here was composed by Te Nehurere for her husband who died at the battle of Ruapekapeka. There is no information about Te Nehurere, making it difficult to ascertain who this tau was intended for. Judging by the lyrics one can assume that Te Nehurere and the person she laments for were allied with Tāmāti Waka Nene and the British. There are no known publications of this tau.

Nā wai, nā wai te ranga i te taua?

Nā Te Nehurere, nā Te Nehurere

Rua³² ka tū tō inati nā

Hamama tō waha e te kārearea³³

Kia w[h]akahīreretia te wai whero

O taku hika maringi nei a Pī

E Kawiti³⁴, ka tū tō inati nā

E Hori Kingi³⁵, ka tū tō inati nā

Te Haratua³⁶, ka tū tō inati nā

I a koe rā e w[h]akakaitoa mai nei

Ki taku mate taurereka

³² The assumption is that ‘Rua’ in this instance is not an individual rather it is an abbreviation used to address the pā, Ruapekapeka.

³³ According to Grey the ‘kārearea’, the native sparrow hawk or bush hawk, was the metaphor for a treacherous, cruel man (Grey, 1857, p.32).

³⁴ Kawiti was born in Northland and was son to Huna and Te Tawai of Ngāti Hine. He was descended from Nukutawhiti, the commander of the Ngātokimatawhaorua, and Rāhiri, the ancestor of Ngāpuhi. Having been admitted into the Te Whare Wānanga Kawiti became recognised for his fighting skills and was nicknamed by Europeans as, ‘The Duke or Te Ruki’. Kawiti was a notable warrior who preferred rough terrain as his battleground, and favoured fighting hand to hand combats. His pā were often located in areas that enabled easy access to bush. Although Kawiti vigorously resisted signing the treaty on February 6 in an attempt to keep Ngāti Hine lands intact, he would eventually sign reluctantly later in May of the same year. Kawiti will be forever remembered for his joint efforts with Hone Heke to challenge British sovereignty and protect Māori land.

³⁵ Tāhua Hori Kingi was a chief of the Hineamaru tribe who dwelled along the Kawakawa river banks. He was the son of Whareumu, brother to Kohu and grandson to Kawiti. In 1840 during the treaty proceedings Tāhua spoke in favour of the partnership and signed accordingly.

³⁶ Considered as the right hand man to Hone Heke, Te Haratua was responsible for the first felling of the flagstaff at Maiki Hill in Kororareka on 8 July 1844. He was involved in the battles that followed and received serious wounds at Te Ahuahu, from which he recovered.

Ūkuia ōu pū *tō tehe rā*, *tō tehe rā*³⁷

E Hikitene³⁸, ki te aroaro o te Kāwana *tō tehe rā*.

Who, who avenged the war party?

Te Nehurere did, it was Te Nehurere.

Ruaapeka your demise will come

Open your mouth you untrustworthy man

So the blood can gush

From my spilling vagina

Kawiti, your demise will come

Hori Kingi, your demise will come

Te Haratua, your demise will come

While you express satisfaction

Of my death as a slave

Load your weapons

Hikitene, proceed to the presence of the Governor.

³⁷ ‘*tō tehe rā*’, is a vulgar insult which has been left untranslated.

³⁸ Hikitene was a chief of the Te Kapotai tribe of Waikare, he signed the treaty of Waitangi and was allied with Kawiti in the decisive battle of Ruaapeka.

He Tangi nā Tarehu

Like so many laments, this song was composed for a warrior who died at Ruapekapeka. Composed by Tarehu, of whom we know little about, this lament is dedicated to Te Aho³⁹. Te Aho, known as the one responsible for setting Kororāreka alight on 12 March 1845, was a warrior chief of Ngāti Hine. Considered as the lieutenant to the great Kawiti, Te Aho was more than likely present at all of the major confrontations of the Northern War. He would sadly meet his fate in the battle of Ruapekapeka.

Tērā te marama, ka whakawhenua i te pae
Ko te atua pea tēnei, ka ora mai
Tēnei tō kāhu e puta ki waho rā
Kia whakarongo koe ki te kōrero o te riri
Kīhai koe i riro i te pū i huri mai i runga i te tere
I riro pea a koe i te pū mau mai ki te ringa
Ki hea hoki rā tō tapuae nui?
E horo i te riri, ki te tahatū o te rangi
Ka whati rāia taku māhuri tōtara
Taku nohoanga waka nui i te ranga awatea
He hinganga wharenui, ka moe i te kino e
Mā wai e ranga i tō mate i te ao?
Mā Hone Heke e te uru tikinga
Takahia te kara i te puke i Maiiki⁴⁰
Kei raro tata iho ko Mohi Tawhai⁴¹

³⁹ The caption at the top of the transcription is as follows, ‘nā Tarehu mō Te Aho i hinga ki te Ruapekapeka’.

⁴⁰ Maiiki is the hill in Kororareka where the flagstaff stood.

⁴¹ Mohi Tawhai, father of Hone Mohi Tawhai, was a chief from Hokianga and a companion in arms of Tamati Waka Nene against Heke and Kawiti. It is said he was instrumental in preventing Colonel Despard from repeating at Ruapekapeka the assault so disastrous under that officer at Ohaeawai (Carleton, 1877, p. 120). After attending a church service Tawhai fell to his death while he was mounting his horse. His funeral was held at

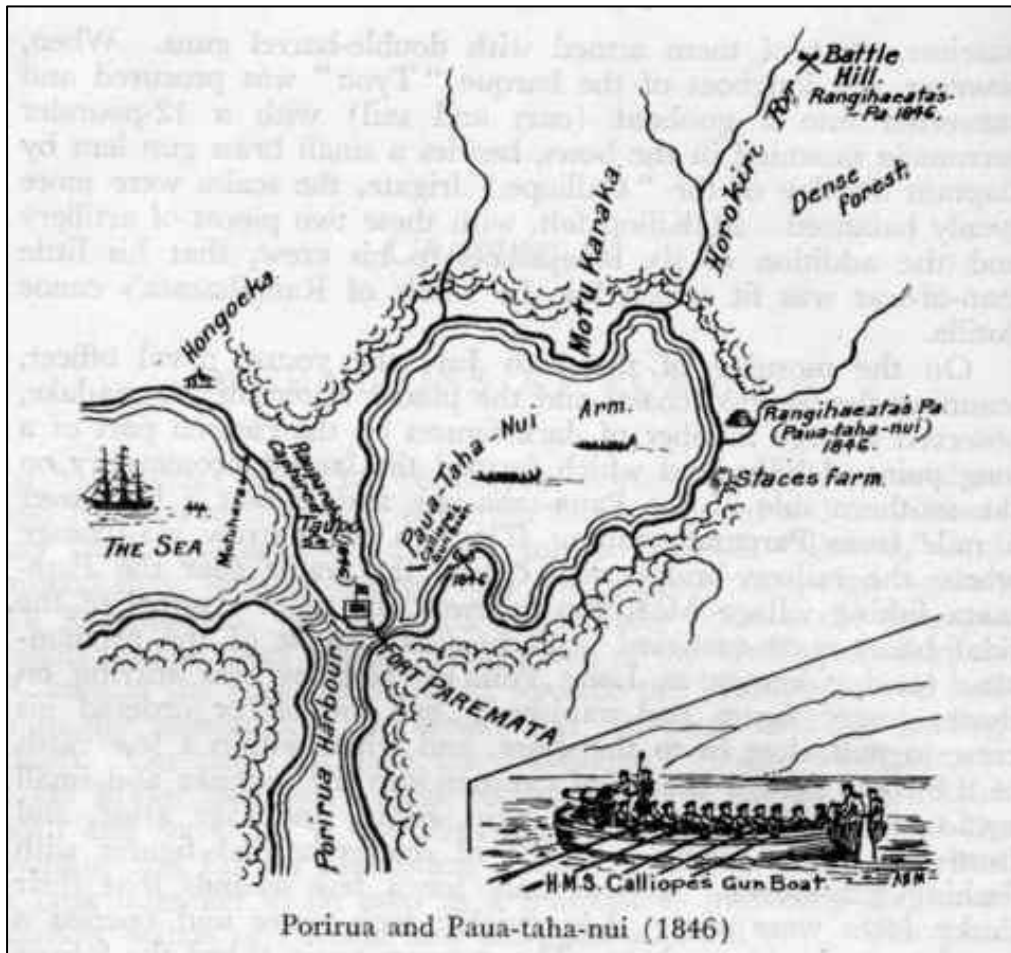
Ko te tangata rā ia i tupu ai te riri, i ngaro ai te iwi
E kore hoki mai te makau ki te whare
I a Kawiti rā ia, kapua iti i te ao.

There the moon descends at the horizon
Maybe this is a ghost coming to life
It is your chief departing
Listen to the discussions of the war
You did not fall victim to the fast turning gun
Maybe you were a victim of the hand held gun
Where do your footprints lead?
Washed away by the war, to the horizon
My dearest beloved has fallen
My position is to honour peace
A felled house, lays in dire
Who will avenge your death in this world?
Hone Heke, the unsuccessful nemesis
Who stamped the flag on the hill at Maiiki
Mohi Tawhai is not far below
The one who started the war and eradicated our people
My beloved will not return home
He is with Kawiti, a small cloud in the day.

Hokianga where nearly every reputable European from the area attended to pay their respects. He was affectionately remembered by the Europeans for his services.

Chapter 5

He toa nō Ngāti Toa



Map 3. Porirua and Pāuatahanui Inlet shows the location of Paremata Fort and the two pā belonging to Rangihaeata, one on the shore and the other on Battle Hill.

Te Rauparaha was perhaps the most influential chief of his time. His imprisonment was potentially considered by both Māori and Pākehā as one of the most significant progressions in race relations since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.

On July 22 1846 the naval ship *Driver* commanded by C.O Hayes with Governor Grey visited a number of places along the Kapiti coast including Porirua, Waikanae and Otaki. Solely to avoid suspicion that afternoon the *Driver* steamed north past Taupo Pā where Te Rauparaha was residing. Under the cover of night the *Driver* slowly returned back to the Pā. Upon

arrival soldiers, marines, police and volunteers aboard disembarked and surrounded the Pā. One of the Māori police officers Erama under Major Durie led a party to the Hutt Valley where Te Rauparaha was sleeping. There Te Rauparaha was seized. In his struggle Te Rauparaha severely bit the hand of one of the sailors, he was however despite his efforts eventually carried aboard the *Driver* (“The Apprehension of Te Rauparaha”, 1846).

Te Rauparaha met his nephew, Matene Te Whiwhi, on the gangway of the ship, *Calliope*, as he was being taken aboard; Te Rauparaha glared at him with disapproval. Te Whiwhi and Henry Tacy Kemp, the person who documented this account, were sent to restore confidence in the people by assuring them they need not worry, as long as they remained well behaved Te Rauparaha would be well cared for (Oliver, 2007).

The following two laments both pertain to the imprisonment of Te Rauparaha by Governor George Grey.

He Tangi nā Te Rangihaeata

Preserved as song number 13 Grey suggests that this lament was an adaptation of a composition for Mokowera who died in Wharekura (Grey, 1853, p. 13-14). Although that particular song is considerably shorter, the imagery and many of the words are similar. Grey goes on to explain that, “it is the custom of the natives to compose their poetry rather by combining materials drawn from ancient poems, than by inventing original matter”. The lament has since been published by Barry Mitcalfe, with a translation and some contextual information or knowledge about the event (Mitcalfe, 1974, p. 74) and the most recent publication is found in, 'Kāti au i konei' (Royal, 2007, p. 103). Royal's version of the composition provides more contextual information than any other. He has further explored and explained the situation identifying a number of the influencing factors surrounding the imprisonment.

The composer Te Rangihaeata was the son of Te Rākaherea and Waitohi, an elder sister of Te Rauparaha. He descended from Ngāti Kimihia and was a junior leader of Ngāti Toa. Considered a war leader, Te Rangihaeata joined Te Rauparaha on war expeditions as early as 1819. They fought together defending Kapiti island, during the Ngāi Tahu raids and were jointly present throughout the Wairau affair. Initially perceived by the Europeans as the 'fighting general' or the lieutenant to Te Rauparaha, their relationship would later deteriorate when Te Rauparaha offered to give up the Hutt Valley without consulting Te Rangihaeata (Ballara, A., 2010).

Their family ties would prove strong when shortly before Te Rauparaha was imprisoned and unbeknown to the Europeans, Te Rangihaeata visited Te Rauparaha to tell him of a dream. “Last night I dreamed a dream, a dream of evil to come. It will be well if you come away with me. Leave this place; it is full of danger”. Regrettably Te Rauparaha decided not to leave as his wife was too ill (Carkeek, 1960, p.11). Within the week Te Rauparaha was taken captive and Te Rangihaeata subsequently composed this lament providing more insight into their interesting relationship.

Taku waka⁴² whakairo e
Taku waka whakateretere e
Ki runga i te ngaru nā e
Tēnā ka pakaru e
Kei te manua⁴³ e pūkai ana e
Ngā maramara nā e

Haere rā⁴⁴, e Raha⁴⁵ e
I te aroaro o Tūmatauenga nā e
Te mana o te Kāwana e
Te inati o Ngāti Raukawa nā e

Haere rā, e Raha e
I te aroaro o Ihu Karaiti
Te mana o te Kāwana e
Te inati o Ngāti Toa nā e

Kī atu ana au, “E koro, haehae matariki nā i”
Kī mai ana⁴⁶ koe, “Waiho i Porirua i te kāinga ururua
Kia ngata ai tō puku, e hao nei koe nā e”

E kore au e tangi i ēnei ngā raro nā e
Tukua atu ki tua ki ngā rā o te waru e

⁴²Waka are often used as an image for women in waiata aroha, perhaps waka is the chosen image as Te Rauparaha was taken captive aboard a ship.

⁴³ The name for a large European ship, also known as Man-of-war.

⁴⁴ The use of ‘haere’ denotes the sentiments of a farewell however Te Rauparaha has not died, perhaps this is in reference to the loss of mana.

⁴⁵ A shortened name for Te Rauparaha.

⁴⁶ The word ‘a’ from original transcript here, has been omitted.

Ka kōhi au i aku tini mahara nā e.

My carved canoe

My drifting canoe

There upon the wave

Broken

The remnants

Lying in a heap upon the ship

Go Raha

In the presence of Tūmataunga⁴⁷

The power of the Governor

The wonder of Ngāti Raukawa

Go Raha

In the presence of Jesus Christ

The power of the Governor

The wonder of Ngāti Toa

I say, “Sir, we are fragmented”

You reply, “Stay in Porirua at the village of abundance

To satisfy your stomach that consumes you”.

I will not cry in these times

Rather leave it till the days of the eighth month⁴⁸

I draw on my many memories.

⁴⁷ The Māori deity of war, an important image as Te Rauparaha was a fighting prowess.

⁴⁸ Season of scarcity

He Tangi nā Hinewhē

The second of the two laments for Te Rauparaha was composed by Hinewhē. Very little can be found about Hinewhē and despite the fact that a small caption above the transcription suggests that she composed this lament for her father or elder⁴⁹, in a family tree provided in, ‘An Old New Zealander, Te Rauparaha’ (Buick, 1911, p.352), her name is not found. It is common to address senior male relatives as ‘matua’, so it is most likely that Hinewhē is not necessarily his biological daughter but instead uses the word ‘matua’ as a term of respect, in that he was considered the paramount chief of Ngāti Toa.

The lament first appears in, ‘Ko ngā Mōteatea me ngā Hakirara o ngā Māori’ (Grey, 1853, p. 12) in te reo Māori and was later published by Buick in English (Buick, 1911, p. xv). According to Buick, although Hinewhē composed the lament it was supposed to have been sung by Te Rangiahaeata.

Kāore te aroha ngau kino i roto rā⁵⁰

He maunga tū noa te tihi ki a Kapiti⁵¹

Ka riro rā e, te kī o te whenua

Moe mai e koro, i runga i te kaipuke

Kia whakamau koe te ata o te moana

Ōu tohu āio⁵² e tū ai koe

Tū te w[h]akahauriri, w[h]akahaurara

Nā runga i te tai heke, kia peke atu koe

Te tihi ki Ingarangi

Taku rata tū tahi, taku whakamarumaruru

Unuhia noatia i waenga i te hono

⁴⁹ ‘He tangi nā Hinewhē mō tana matua’.

⁵⁰ This type of formulaic phrase is often found in waiata aroha, perhaps this is an indication of how closely tied the two genres actually are.

⁵¹ Kapiti is an island off the southern west coast of the North Island known as the stronghold for Te Rauparaha and his people.

⁵² Grey has changed the original transcription ‘a iho’ to ‘āio’ which seems more appropriate.

I te nui Ati Toa, tē kapohia koe
 I te matawhaura, i te rangamārō
 Te ngutu o te pū⁵³, kia pā te karanga
 “E tama mā e, ka rere au ki te pō”
 Mā wai e w[h]akahoki te waiora ki muri
 Ka ea tō mate mā ō mokopuna
 Mā Te Wherowhero⁵⁴, mā Te Tumuhua⁵⁵
 Tēnei ngā iwi te takoto tonu nei me he moe toitoi⁵⁶
 Haere rā e koro, hei maungārongo mā te Atua i te rangi
 Mā Tamihana⁵⁷, mā Mātene⁵⁸ rā
 Nā kōrua rā hoki i tiki ki Te Rēinga i kawea mai ai
 Ko te ture pai⁵⁹, ko te ture kōhuru i pareā mai nei
 Nāku anake ngā hara i raru ai koe.

⁵³ An interesting comment pertaining to these lines can be found in the newspaper, *The New Zealander*, “The death of Rauparaha in fight would certainly not have excited their sympathies to so dangerous a degree, as will, in all probability, his captivity...” (“The Apprehension of Te Rauparaha”, 1846)

⁵⁴ Te Wherowhero, the first Māori King, was the eldest son of Te Rauangaanga, and Parengaope. He descended from the senior chiefly line of Ngāti Mahuta, Tainui and Te Arawa. Te Wherowhero gave his guarantee of good behaviour to the Governor to assist in the release of Te Rauparaha. Following the release, he invited Te Rauparaha to live with him in Auckland and they travelled around the King Country together for six months. In 1848, Te Wherowhero was amongst those who accompanied Te Rauparaha on his return to Otaki.

⁵⁵ Te Tumuhua more commonly known as Taraia Ngākuti was the son of Te Kaharunga and Rewa. He descends from Ngāti Tama-te-rā, Ngāti Huarere and Ngāti Maru. Recognized as a prominent leader, Te Tumuhua spent a lot of his adulthood in warfare and was present with Te Rauparaha during the Ngāi Tahu raids. Te Tumuhua was one of the Hauraki leaders who travelled to Auckland to pay homage to Te Rauparaha in September 1847. In January 1848 he travelled with Te Rauparaha to Otaki where Te Rauparaha was released to his people (Buick, 1911, p. 320).

⁵⁶ A small fish which sleeps in shoals in fresh water lakes.

⁵⁷ Known also as Katu, Tamihana was the son of Te Rauparaha and Te Akau. He was born at Pukearuhe, a Ngāti Tama pā in northern Taranaki, while Ngāti Toa were migrating south from Kawhia. Although Tamihana accompanied his father on many war expeditions throughout his upbringing, he would spend a huge part of his life helping to end the fighting and spread Christianity to the southern parts of New Zealand. Tamihana was amongst those present at Otaki, to welcome his father, following his release in 1848.

⁵⁸ Mātene Te Whiwhi, the grandnephew of Te Rauparaha, was the son of Rangi Topeora and Rangikapiki. In all probability Mātene and Te Rauparaha had a strained relationship. It is interesting to note that Mātene Te Whiwhi was already aboard the *Driver* when Te Rauparaha was apprehended. Despite their kinship they took quite a different approach to the political climate of the time. Mātene had a lifelong drive to maintain peace for his people and was even accused of informing Governor George Grey about ammunition supplies and rumours of a plan to assault Wellington prior to the capture of Te Rauparaha.

⁵⁹ In 1839 Mātene, along with Tamihana, journeyed to the Bay of Islands. Upon arrival in Paihia they explained that their leaders were concerned about the amount of conflict that had arisen over the past twenty years and they were in need of a missionary for their locality. Octavius Hadfield volunteered, moved to Waikanae and set up a station that November.

How the love gnaws within
Lonely is the peak at Kapiti
The key to the land has gone
Rest old man upon the ship
Marvelling at the tranquil ocean
Standing strongly for your view of peace
Stand staunchly, stand fast
Upon the ebbing tide
Over the summit England
My chief, my protector
Taken away from amidst the people
Of Ngāti Toa, you were not taken
During the battle, by a war party⁶⁰
Or by the barrel of a gun, so we could hear the call
“Boys, I am crossing to darkness”
Who will restore our security?
Will your grandchildren avenge your death?
Will it be Te Wherowhero, or Te Tumuhuia
These are the people not roused to avenge
Go old man, in peace from God above
It was Tamihana and Mātene
Who fetched and returned with from the north
The good law, the murderous law that was discarded
It is because of my offences that you have been troubled.

⁶⁰ To be taken during war is considered by Māori as honourable, the way in which the Crown captured Te Rauparaha is perceived by Māori as ignoble.

Chapter 6

E Whangawhanga nei a Whanganui



Map 4. Central Whanganui showing Pukenui

This chapter defines waiata tangi and has two examples from the manuscript. Both of the waiata tangi are from the Whanganui area so seems appropriate that the chapter heading be 'E whangawhanga nei a Whanganui' which means 'the Whanganui river is upset'.

The most extensive genre of mōteatea is waiata tangi and according to Orbell (1991, p.2), composers, both men and women, channelled the most poetic energy towards these

compositions. Waiata tangi are generally laments for the dead and were sung by individuals and groups of people at funerals, and also at times following the death, to remember and mourn for the deceased. They also performed an important role in helping the bereaved adjust to situations out of their control (Smith, 2001, p.105). It is not that a multitude of Māori people died but rather that the death of a person had a great spiritual and emotional impact on family and friends, so much so that it stimulated them to compose these types of mōteatea. In addition, they provided a platform to express publicly the deep emotions engendered by sorrow, and a way to bring people together in an environment of unity and mutual support (Smith, 2001, p.105). To further elaborate, laments were written to express loss of land, loss of crops, at times of pandemics and also for strengthening the connection between the present and the past. To illustrate, a song composed for an esteemed individual may be sung at the funerals of his or her descendants, this symbolizes and acknowledges their ancestral heritage. The process of passing waiata tangi down from generation to generation also explains how they have the potential to move about from one part of the country to another.

Ngata writes, “kei konā ngā kupu tohunga rawa o te reo Māori, kei konā ngā kauwhau nunui o ngā tīpuna mai o Hawaiki” (1959, p.104). Both in this quote by Ngata and through analysing a sample group we can see that waiata tangi are full of remarkable metaphors and exquisite poetical conceptions. According to Cowan (1930, p.103) the mourners as they address their deceased liken the chief to a felled forest tree (see pages 30 and 39 of this dissertation for examples), or to a carved war canoe shattered by the waves (see page 44 for example). Such valedictory expressions are prevalent in many waiata tangi. Karetu (1981, p.36) explains that waiata tangi often contain some of the most elegant examples of the Māori language. Smith mentions in reference to Walker that:

They use an elaborate, specialised style of language which can be allegorical, metaphorical, proverbial, or highly figurative in a number of ways, and contain a wealth of classical references and complex imagery drawn from mythology, legend and folklore, ancestral and archetypal precedents, kinship relationships and personalities. In celebrating the landscape symbols and distinctive achievements of the tribal group, they constitute a "tour de force" of ancient knowledge, traditions, geography, and tribal history (2001, p.106).

The grief occasioned by death can also be likened to rain, to the moaning of the sea, or to biting winds.

These laments for the dead are set to a short musical theme which is repeated throughout the song, a theme which contrasts markedly in its slow tempo and definite melody with the rapid chanting of the pātere or pōkeka (Cowan, 1930, p.104).

Many hundreds of these songs have been recorded, varying widely in their length, composition and content. It is fairly usual for them to begin with a reference to some aspect of nature, often something which is taken as a symbol of death, for example in He tangi nā Tarehu (Chapter four, Ngā puhi ki Ngāpuhi of this dissertation):

‘Tērā te marama, ka whakawhenua i te pae’

‘There the moon descends at the horizon’

The circumstances of the death are often mentioned, and if there is a motive, as in the case of death in battle or by witchcraft, plans for revenge may be outlined.

He tangi mō Te Uawiri mā

This lament was composed for Te Uawiri, Te Wharekura, Te Awauri and Taka⁶¹ after they were captured and hanged in Whanganui. These four were part of a larger group who exacted utu⁶² after their relation Hapurona Ngārangi, a local chief⁶³, was wounded. Ngārangi had visited the midshipman's quarters to receive payment for work he had completed. An officer, by name of Crozier, behaving in an immature manner, accidentally triggered his pistol and Ngārangi sustained a gun wound to the head (Young, 1998, p. 35). Fortunately, the chief was well cared for and made a quick recovery.

Despite the fact that Ngārangi explained to his people that this had been an accident, Te Uawiri and five others, determined to take revenge, attacked a home ten kilometres from Whanganui in the Mataraua valley. The home belonged to Mr J.A. Gilfillan, a well-known businessman and highly regarded artist (Keenan, 2009, p.157). Interestingly Gilfillan made a decision, assuming that the Māori were after only him, to flee and leave his family at the hands of the angered party. The attack saw Gilfillan and his sixteen-year-old daughter receive severe wounds that would leave lifelong scars. His wife and three of their children were killed and the property destroyed.

In an attempt to prove their innocence Hone Wīremu Hīpango led a small group of Māori in pursuit of the attackers. Travelling up the river they stopped in a number of places including Parikino. There they conjured that soldiers had seized their pā after an innocent woman and her children had been murdered. They explained, in an effort to gain support, that the only way to ensure the release of their people was to find the murderers. The Parikino people then agreed to paddle a canoe with the pursuers hidden under potato baskets (Downes, 1915, p. 267). This proved to be very helpful and aided in the eventual capture of five of the six attackers, who were later handed to the Europeans. A court martial gathered to try the perpetrators, four of whom confessed, and convicted them for the murders. Puputai, the youngest of the five culprits apprehended, was said to have had no involvement in the murders and was eventually pardoned. The four were executed on the Rutland Stockade ten

⁶¹ Printed in 'Old Whanganui' as E, Taka (Downes, 1915, p. 268).

⁶² 'Utu' is the traditional Māori concept of reciprocity, here revenge.

⁶³ Keenan refers to Ngārangi as a young worker (Keenan, 2009, p. 157) however the majority of texts claim him to be a chief of the Whanganui area.

days after the initial incident concerning Ngārangi. While some of the local people agreed with the punishment, many, did not, thus the execution along with other contributing factors would precipitate war (Cowan, 1922, p. 136).

The name of the composer was not provided in the transcription of this song, however a lament for Te Rangihiroa that is considerably comparable was published by Grey (Grey, 1853, p. 117) and later translated in Ngā Mōteatea (Ngata, 1959, p. 48). That version refers to people and places pertinent to the Tūhourangi tribe of Te Arawa, thus there are a number of differences between the two. The process of adapting or reusing songs for different occasions was common and, much like formulaic phrases probably helped the listeners understand the song. The date of composition is also difficult to ascertain; we do know however that the events described took place in April 1847. How soon after the events this lament was composed remains unclear, it is likely though that laments of this nature were composed and sung almost immediately after the event.

Kāhore te mamae ngau kino ki te hoa
I tīaria mai tō mata whakarere
Kia whakatauria te uri o Wharawhara⁶⁴
Tēnā ka riro ki te one i Pukenu⁶⁵
Te uru tāu kawenga e te toa
Tē ai he mahara i te ao
Whakarere rukaruka te moenga i te wahine
Rere-ā-manu tonu ki te hui mātāngohi⁶⁶
Kei hoki te ingoa kia tārewa ki runga rā
E waiho ana a koe he kōhura i te iwi
Ka ngaro noa koe, a Te Uawiri
Nā te hōia⁶⁷ i here, mei ō kāhua e Taka⁶⁸

⁶⁴ According to Ngata, Wharawhara is an ancient expert in the art of tā moko.

⁶⁵ Commonly translated as Sandfly Hill, Pukenu is remembered by the local Māori people as the place where the last tribal clash occurred in 1832. Pākehā however subsequently named it the Rutland Stockade. It was a fortification constructed on the most commanding ground in Whanganui about 70 feet above the level of the river, near the northern end of the then small settlement. It now carries the name of Queenspark.

⁶⁶ The first person killed in a fight.

He roi whiu ai koe ki te aroaro nō Irohanga⁶⁹.

How mourning for my friend aches

Your adorned face has gone

To be welcomed by the descendants of Wharawhara

You were taken to the beach at Pukenuamu

O warrior ambitiously seeking retribution

With no contemplation

You unreservedly left your wife's bed

Flying like a bird to execute the first victim

So that your name might be uplifted

You were supposed to rise above the people

Te Uawiri, you are gone

Taken captive by the soldiers, Taka

You look like a bundle of fern tossed before Irohanga.

⁶⁷ The use of this borrowing for 'soldier' can help determine the timeframe in which the song was composed.

⁶⁸ "Throughout the trial the prisoners exhibited the most perfect indifference as to their fate, and often expressed the wish that they should be hanged straight off without the bother of a trial" (Downes, 1915, p. 268).

⁶⁹ Ngata, informed by Kepa Ehau, states that Irohanga is an ancestor of Ngāti Whakaue and or the place of execution. Both these explanations do not fit this context.

He Tangi nā Tarawiri

As mentioned in a small caption on the top of the manuscript, this lament was composed for the father of Tarawiri who died in Whanganui⁷⁰. There has been no other information surface about Tarawiri.

Kāhore te aroha i rau i [a] au e
E whāwhā, e aki ana
He hinganga mea nui
Ka riro rā e, tōku matua, tōku ārai hau
Mā wai e ranga te mate i te ao?⁷¹
Mā tō teina e noho mai i Tāpeka
Māna e karanga i ngā iwi e rua
I raro i Waikato, i runga i Maketū
Ōu iwi i karanga ai koe
Tainui, Te Arawa, ka mate rā ia
Te puhi o Tongariro, ka hinga kai raro.

How love entangles me
Laying hold, moving me
Such a great loss
My father, my protector, has gone
Who will avenge his death in this world?
Your younger brother who lives in Tāpeka
He will call together the two tribes

⁷⁰ Nā Tarawiri mō tana matua tāne i mate, i turoro ki Whanganui.

⁷¹ A common formulaic phrase.

Down at Waikato and north at Maketū
Your tribes who you called
Tainui and Te Arawa, will surely perish
The chief of Tongariro has fallen.

Chapter 7

Karakia

This next chapter includes all three karakia from Grey's manuscript 62, the first is labelled a karakia, the second a karakia pure and the third a mākutū. Discussion around the genre of karakia and the different forms presented here is included throughout the chapter. It is important to note that translating these pieces of work is notoriously difficult as there are often archaic words and images that are no longer in use.

Karakia were the primary means of communication between people and their atua in traditional Māori society (Buck, 1949, p. 489). Often translated or defined as incantation, invocation or prayer, karakia are the chants of Māori ritual. While all karakia are chants not all chants, such as pōkeka or hari, are karakia. The fundamental difference with karakia is the rapid monotone; McLean explains karakia as having tempos that may exceed 300 syllables per minute (McLean, 1965, p. 54). It is probably equally important to include that like other genres, karakia also have their own formulaic phrases, symbols and images. There are karakia for almost all aspects of life from birth to death, from love to war, for food, for illness, for weather, for the canoe and so forth. The following quote from Te Rangikaheke articulates this elegantly.

Ko te rangi me ōna riri, he karakia anō.

Ko te moana me ōna riri, he karakia anō.

Ko te whenua me ōna riri, he karakia anō

(GNZMMSS 51, p. 96).

The sky and its ragings have karakia

The sea and its ragings have karakia

The earth and its ragings have karakia⁷².

Many authors have written of the vast amount of karakia and some authors have even categorised them. Best breaks the karakia down into three groups: karakia used by children and ordinary people, karakia recited by experts in the areas of ordinary life and karakia

⁷² Translation provided by researcher.

reserved for high priests. Buck later adopts a similar adaptation where the karakia are divided into those for children, those for laymen and those for tohunga.

He Karakia

The ritual chant below was composed to separate a man and a woman and would therefore fall into either the second or third of the categories mentioned above. References to the creation story of the sky father and earth mother's separation are appropriately included. The introduction of this ritual chant has been published and translated in, 'The Coming of the Māori' (Buck, 1949, p. 497) where Grey's published version, which differs slightly from the version here, was used (Grey, 1853, p.31). At the bottom of the manuscript it states that this karakia is from Te Roha. This most likely means he was simply the person reciting it at the time it was collected. There is very little information available about Te Roha but a Te Roha signed the treaty of Waitangi. However, it is difficult to determine whether they are the same person.

He unuhanga a Nuku⁷³, he unuhau a Rangi⁷⁴

He mareretanga, he maretanga nō tēnei ariki, nō tēnei tauira

Tēnā, tēnā te pou ka tū, te pou ka tū, ko te pou o te wehe

Ko Rangi ka wewete, ka wetewete ki runga nei e

Wetea, wetea ai, wetea mai tō kōrua moenga

I pipiri ai kōrua, i momoe ai kōrua

Wetea ai, ko Rangi ka wehe, ko Papa ka wehe

Ka wehe i tēnei ahiahi, ka wehe i tēnei mārua pō

Anga atu ana ki taiki, ki tai a pō, ki tai a tangi atu rā

Anga ake nei au ki te wao nui a Tāne⁷⁵

Koe kei mihi, koe kei tangi, wetea te tau o ō kahu

Tara te tau o ō kōrua pūeru

E awhi ki te rimu

Awhi ki tōtara

⁷³ Nuku is a variation of the name Papatūānuku, the Māori earth mother.

⁷⁴ Rangi, or otherwise known as Ranginui, is the Māori sky father.

⁷⁵ Tāne is the Māori deity of the forest, the birds and mankind.

E awhi ki raka tūwhenua⁷⁶

Tēnā pou ka tū, ko te pou o te wehe

Ko te pou o Rangi e tū nei whakamurahia koe

A withdrawal of earth, a withdrawal of sky

An end, a releasing from this chief, from this priest

There, there stands the pillar, the pillar of division

Rangi was separated, separated above

Separate, part your bed in two

Where you two embraced and slept together

Separate like Rangi and Papa

Part this evening, part this very night

Face the far side of the sea, to the evening tide, to the mourning tide

Face the forest of Tāne

So you won't show affection, or grieve, loosen the strings of your clothes

Untie the strings of your clothes

Embrace the rimu

Embrace the tōtara

Embrace the headland

There stands the pillar, the pillar of division

The pillar of the sky father ignites you.

⁷⁶ A commonality in Māori writing and oratory when occurrences repeat thrice.

He Karakia Pure

The meaning of 'pure' is obscure; it is difficult to understand exactly what differentiates a pure from a karakia. Williams defines 'pure' as a ceremony for removing tapu, and for other purposes (1971, p.312-313). Whatahoro on the other hand states in the following quote that a 'pure' is associated with the establishment of tapu and mana, clearly distinguishing it from the whakanoa, which removes tapu.

Ko te pure he mahi nā ngā tohunga kia mau ai te mana tapu me te mana atua, ehara i te whakanoa. Ka purea te tangata kia toa e ka haere ki te riri. Ka purea te waka kia tapu, kia mau tōna mana, kia noho ngā atua ki te tiaki i te waka (Best, 1929, p. 75).

The pure is conducted by the priests to gain the power of tapu and the power of atua, not to make normal. A man undergoes the pure ritual to make him brave when going into battle. The pure ritual is used for a canoe to make it tapu, so that its mana will be held fast, so that the atua will remain in the canoe to protect it.

The manuscript does not state who composed this 'pure' which is fitting in that it is common that karakia or 'pure' are not accredited to just one person. Karakia are recited and passed down through the generations and most likely adapted over time and for different occasions. Karakia can thus be considered a work of a people as opposed to an individual. When a composer of karakia is named, they are more often either a mythological character or an ancient tohunga (Shirres, 1997, p. 69).

Although, as mentioned above, it is unknown who wrote this particular pure we can establish, through the notes on the manuscript that it originates from Ngāti Awa. Grey was the first to publish a variant version of this 'pure' (Grey, 1853, p.).

Koroko whakapupū te uru o te whenua
Koroko whakamatiri ake te uri o te tangata
I au rā ianei
Ko taku hē, ko te hē o Titinui
I ripiripia koe ki reira
I haehaea koe ki reira
I hāparangi koe ki reira⁷⁷
E tae koe ki raro
E uia mai koe
Nā wai koe i hōmai?
Nā Whiro⁷⁸ te tepua⁷⁹
Whana ake, ka kitea
Mea ake, ka rangona

Protrude, appear above the horizon
Protrude upwards, the descendants of man
Here
My mistake is the mistake of Titinui
You were slashed there
You were gashed there
You were cut there
You arrive to the underworld
You are asked
Who brought you?

⁷⁷ A commonality in Māori writing and oratory when occurrences repeat thrice.

⁷⁸ Whiro is the Māori deity of evil.

⁷⁹ Most likely a misspelling of tipua.

Whiro, the demon

Arise and be seen

Speak up and be heard

He Mākutu

Mākutu are the ritual chants used in traditional Māori society to inflict either physical or psychological harm on people. It was widely understood that mākutu could even cause death.

Mata rākau e taea te karo, mata rerepuku e kore e taea.

A weapon fashioned from wood can be deflected, but the weapon that strikes unseen cannot.

The whakataukī here can be used to explain the potential damage that was once caused by mākutu and highlight the necessary precautions needed in order to avoid falling victim to it. According to Best (1982), the fact that mākutu could be executed in secret increased its effectiveness.

Mākutu were extremely prominent in traditional Māori society and were often considered as the punitive means to preserve civil law and order in traditional Māori communities. Mākutu were used by tohunga, the learned members of society, to manage their tribe. As a consequence feelings of insecurity ran high and prevented anyone from disobeying the laws of the community.

There were limitations on their freedom to act: should an irresponsible practitioner of the dark arts become a nuisance to a tribe, the solution to the problem was simply to kill the errant magician without delay.

According to Shirres, while some mākutu are joined to make up ritual composites the majority are single karakia. He further states that the mākutu within the many Māori manuscript collections are predominantly counters to curses as opposed to actual curses (Shirres, 1997, p.72).

Ritual chants like these when translated simply reveal the inadequacy of the process at most. Words cannot display the meaning that once existed here or the understanding that people had of the images and symbols that are expressed through chants of this type. Furthermore, if in the presence of the right knowledge bearer there may be some very intriguing insight. In contrast, when left to way through written resources only limited information can be sourced.

⁸⁰Tukia te papa i uta
Ka maranga ake i te pō
Tukia te papa i tai
Ka maranga ake i te ao
Hōmai ōu mata ka rimurimua
Hōmai ōu mata ka toetoea⁸¹
Hōmai ōu mata, ōu mata
Ka tupuria te wharenga
Wharenga mai te wharenga
Pua hāhā, pua tātā
Te koki kei runga
Te koki kei raro
Kei a Tena
Kei a Whena
Kei a Kuru
Kei te awhe te awhe matua.

The land is pounded
Rise in the night
The coast is pounded
Rise in the day
Give me your face to slash
Give me your face to shred
Give me your face, your face
The house is overrun

⁸⁰ A small caption above the transcription is as follows: “Nā Te Warena kei Papawaka nō Ngāti Maniapoto”, this is evidence which can be used to show that not all songs were collected in the north.

⁸¹ A commonality in Māori writing and oratory when occurrences repeat thrice.

The shelter is upending

The foamy sea murmurs and rushes

The corner moves up

The corner moves down

It is with Tena

It is with Whena

It is with Kuru

Work in unison

Chapter 8

He Waiata Aroha

Waiata aroha or love songs vary considerably in length and are musically indistinguishable from laments. Their whole tone is mournful, since they are invariably concerned with lost or unrequited love.

Waiata aroha could be altered to articulate the feelings of permanent loss similar to those conveyed in waiata tangi, as E.O.B. Davis did in his collection of waiata in 1855. To explain, the songs in this collection were:

Composed on the eve of Governor Grey's departure from New Zealand in early 1854. These songs were largely adapted by tribal leaders from women's love laments, and represented Grey as an object of affection who would be mourned by the Māori people after he had gone (Smith, 2001, p.105).

The composers were always women and commonly expressed their personal emotions, not the emotions of the collective. According to Carkeek (p.47) "The remembered, or imagined, delights of love may be mentioned frankly or hidden in obscure sexual symbolism which is still incompletely understood".

This chapter contains all of the six waiata aroha found in Grey's manuscript 62. It is difficult to ascertain the origins of these waiata aroha, although some contain references to placenames in particular areas. However due to uncertainty, these names have only been noted and nothing more has been developed.

He Waiata Aroha

There are no known publications of this waiata aroha. The references made to place names have not aided in providing a context or any deeper understanding of whom this piece was composed by, for or what circumstances surrounded the composition.

E tō, e te rā⁸², ki tai o te moana

He rā ka tukutuku ki runga o Kaitangi⁸³

Kia tohu au e, ko te hoa ka wehea

I pupū ki a wai te roimata i aku kamo

Mā wai e whai atu⁸⁴ tōna mata i heuea

Tōna kāinga hoi, ka eke kei Tokapiko⁸⁵

Ki waho, ki te āhuru, kei whitia i raro

Kei te kai-a-kiri, ka hoki mai ki ahau

Ka whano anō koe, ka whai poroki iho

Ka waiho, e te tau, kia karangi ana

Te hekenga i te tuku, ka hinga au, ka turori.

Set sun, on the ocean tides

The sun that descends on Kaitangi

Signifying the departure of a lover

⁸² Sunsetting relates to grief and unhappiness (Orbell, 1977, p.111).

⁸³ Possibly a mountain in the Taranaki region

⁸⁴ Formulaic phrase lamenting the inability to reach one's beloved (Orbell, 1977, p.154).

⁸⁵ Probably the mountain south of Te Kuiti

For whom do these tears well in my eyes

Who will reach him so distant?

Embarking to his far off home at Tokapiko

Away, to comfort, to pass over

My desire for your return consumes me

Proceed, pursue your path give your last farewell

I am left, oh loved one, unsettled

The sun has descended below the ridge, I fall and stagger.

He Waiata Aroha

Due to the style of this composition there is very little information that has been located. There are no known publications of this waiata aroha, and as a result we can not be certain of any aspects of this waiata. However, some hypotheses can be drawn from various words in this composition. For example, given the uncertainty surrounding the accuracy of transcription, the place name 'Rawena' could possibly be 'Rawene', and furthermore, the pronoun 'Ruatarā' could be in reference to the renowned Ngāpuhi chief. Therefore we could assume that this song is potentially from the Ngāpuhi area. Finally, this waiata aroha proved difficult to translate as there were some ambiguities surrounding the words.

E whiti e te rā⁸⁶, ka hoki au i aku mahara

Hōmai anō kia ringia ki te mahau

Ware nōku piro, ka muri aroha

Kei hea te tatanga i moe ki te pō

Ka whakahewa mai tō wairua

E hia tahurangi⁸⁷ ka wawara ai aku kiri

Ka rangona roto nei, ka tukia ki te tau o taku ate

Ka irihia ahau ngā rewa⁸⁸

Nuku mai a Tiki rā

Kia waihapetia ngā raewhero⁸⁹ ki Karahia

I waho tō awa hoenga i te paremata

⁸⁶ It is difficult to determine the significance of such passages as the sun could possibly be perceived as having an everlasting effect (Orbell, 1977, p.112).

⁸⁷ In reference to a woman who has been sleeping alone in her partner's absence (Orbell, 1977, p.220).

⁸⁸ A woman who is in an unhappy position or subject to gossip often likens herself to a sail or mast in this instance (Orbell, 1977, p.276).

⁸⁹ In modern times 'raewhero', red-forehead, is a term used for ringawera or workers, however it is possible in this context that 'raewhero' is in reference to either chiefs or esteemed guests.

Ki a Ruatara e

Hei kawē i [a] au ngā taipapa ki raro ki Rawena

Nō konei taku iti, ka mahia ki Poto-o-ngutu

Kei tae ki reira, kei mihi mai ki taku moenga.

Shine sun, I reminisce

The tears pour out on the terrace

It was my fault, I yearn

Where is my dearest that slept at night?

Your spirit appears

How many sprits have hounded my skin?

Felt beating within the pit of my gut

I am suspended from the canoe masts

Tiki draws near

So the chiefs can return to Karahia

The hollow where you sit is outside the stern

To Ruatara

The spreading tides carry me below to Rawena

My youth was brought about at Poto-o-ngutu

Upon arrival there, let me not greet my bed.

He Waiata Aroha

Like many of the pieces collected in this manuscript this love song was published by Grey (Grey, 1853, p. 348). His version is slightly different and he attributes the composition of this song to Te Toenga. Simmons also subsequently published a version and explains that Te Toenga was of Ngāti Mutunga descent from Urenui in the Taranaki region (Simmons, 1973, p. 42). Another version and the most recent known publication by Margret Orbell is part of her PhD on the themes and images in waiata aroha (Orbell, 1977, p. 439).

Kāore te aroha i huri i roto rā
Tahu kei Kapiti, e moe[a] atu nei
Taku wairangi ki te tangi kau atu
Karea kautia ko koe nā, e Runga,
Tara te kōrero, he tikanga i te rau
Au ka pirangi, e hua i aku kamo
Ki te rere i ō Runga
Aura, e Kupenga, e aurakina mai
Waiho kia hoea he moana taitua
Tē kite atu au he horanga pū mai
Nāu nā, e Whare, kei tawhiti nā koe
Kāti rā, ka urupū te aroha i a au.

How the sorrow stirs within
Dreaming of my beloved at Kapiti
I foolishly weep
Yearning for only you, Runga
Your voice stands out amongst the multitudes

That which I desire, revealed in my eyes
Floats to the place of Runga
Do not pursue me Kupenga
Leave me to voyage the ocean afar
I cannot see your spray
Where, you are distant
Enough said, the longing perseveres within

He Waiata

Many past writers in this field have divided Māori mōteatea into two categories, mōteatea that is recited and mōteatea that is sung. Mōteatea that are sung have a melody that repeats itself in each line and has language that is often fashioned in accordance with that melody. Waiata is the universal term used quite frequently and arguably too freely for all Māori songs.

It is important to note however that waiata do not encompass all sung songs or those of a melodic nature. Margaret Orbell articulates that there were three types of songs, all of which were embodied in the form of personal communication, through the expression of love and sorrow. The first melodic song discussed is known as an oriori or lullaby used to inform a child of the tribal circumstances they would inherit. The second is referred to as an epigrammatic couplet or pao, these are mostly sung for entertainment covering topics from love and greeting through to local events and scandals (Orbell, 1991, p. 3).

Of all melodic songs composed, Orbell identifies the third, waiata, as the most significant. These types of compositions were often sung in public areas such as marae, predominantly used during a pōwhiri process as a kīnaki or support song, and frequently encompassed laments or complaints which expressed the composer's feelings in attempt to sway the emotions of the audience. A small range of notes comprised the tune of this type of melodic song, and as a result were usually sung slowly (Orbell, 1991, p. 3).

This waiata is the only one from the manuscript that is not followed by a qualifying term. Often the qualifying term can assist in understanding the use or the temperament of the song. Mervyn Mclean has an extensive list of various types of waiata. The list includes thirty four different qualifying terms, waiata koroingo – song of longing and waiata take – song with a message to name a couple (Mclean, 1996, p. 110).

There are no known publications of this song but the manuscript does inform us that the waiata here was composed by Tūwhāngai for her daughter who had slept with a man⁹⁰.

⁹⁰The caption above the transcription of the waiata is as follows, 'nā Tūwhāngai mō tana tamāhine i moe i te tāne'.

I muri ahiahi takoto ki te moenga⁹¹
 Tango mai he mahara kia tirautia
 Rangona ki roto rā he haruru wai i hoe⁹²
 Nāu e Takurua ki te muri Tokerau
 Nā konei ngā mahi i hoe i te itinga
 Te warae e, kei tōtahi ana
 Tirohia pea ka hē te āhua
 Taratū e te tahu, nāku i tā kino
 Nāku i pikipiki he maunga tiketike
 Waiho nei au he pākai hau
 Muri nā e Ani, kei tuarua mai
 Raro hokinga mai he mea i a te kiri
 Whakawehia iho, e Nare mā e
 Rauwiritia a waho i te atatū e
 Kia tau ki raro rā karangi noa ana
 E ai te ao e hau⁹³
 Mā wai e whai atu, he tahu ka w[h]akarau.

Grieving in the evening, I lie in my bed
 Reminiscing being cock
 Sensing within the resonance of paddle water
 It was you Takurua, to the north
 It was the deeds of rowing in my youth
 The opening, lest I be alone
 Look perhaps my appearance has faltered

⁹¹ This phrase is a common opening formula (Orbell, 1977, p.177).

⁹² A common theme where women recall the happy times of their early intimate interactions (Orbell, 1977, p.192).

⁹³ Clouds are often used to convey the composers disturbed emotions (Orbell, 1977, p.259).

My lover is a post, I did wrong
I ascended a lofty mountain
I remain as a shelter
Grieve Ani, lest you do it twice
Return below to the activities of the skin
Pleasure, Nare and others
Be cast away just after sunrise
Settling down I am disturbed
Like wind blown clouds
Who will pursue a lover to multiply?

He Waiata Aroha

An alternative version of this short love song was first published by Grey in, ‘Ko ngā Mōteatea me ngā Hakirara o ngā Māori’ (Grey, 1853, p.344). Orbell later translated the version provided here as part of her thesis on Māori love poetry (Orbell, 1977, p.521). The composer of this waiata aroha is unknown.

Tērā Matariki⁹⁴ pikitia⁹⁵ i te ripa,
Whea nei e Meri⁹⁶ ka tauwehe i taku kiri?
Mōkai Tararua⁹⁷ i ārai mai ai
Tē kitea atu ai i⁹⁸ taku piringa poho
Nāku te tahakura i whakamoho⁹⁹ i te ahiahi
Kei tae ki reira, kei mihi mai ki te iwi.

There Matariki rises above the horizon,
Where is Meri who is absent from my touch?
Infuriating Tararua obstructs
So my sweetheart cannot be seen
My dream, in the evening, led me to believe
I arrived there and met the people.

⁹⁴ The Māori term for the star system Pleiades, also a painful time as those who have lost loved ones yearn their return.

⁹⁵ Grey has published hikitia as oppose to pikitia.

⁹⁶ Orbell has published Mere noting that it is unclear while Grey has used Huka.

⁹⁷ Quite likely referring to the Tararua Ranges situated in the North Island that run northeast between the Hutt Valley and Palmerston North.

⁹⁸ Orbell notes that i could either be a carry on of ai or a redundant i which are sometimes found after passive verbs.

⁹⁹ Orbell considers this a formulaic phrase (1977, p.151).

He Waiata Aroha

Based on the notes provided with the manuscript the following love song is intended for Ruihi who was supposedly residing in Rangiaohia at the time of composition. No information has been sourced about Ruihi. Interestingly this particular waiata aroha was composed by a man, the lover of Ruihi, which is not very common as the majority of waiata aroha are composed by women¹⁰⁰. Orbell articulates that waiata aroha composed by men are more aggressive and resentful. Furthermore, she claims they are more detailed and graphic, especially in relation to sexual matters (1977, p.162). Interestingly, although this waiata aroha is written by a male it does not satisfy her description.

Tēnā ka noho ngā piko i Waitomo¹⁰¹

E Whare mā e, kōrerotia kia rongo atu au

Tahi te pukapuka nāku i tuhi, nā te koro i hari

Ka tae ki te puke, tāorooro ana o auhi

Kia papa i rite, kia kitea atu au

Te wā ki a Ruihi e kai nei te aroha

Me aha i mutu ai te aroha i au ki te whaiāipo

Kei maringi kino te wai i aku kamo i pāheke nei

Ko te ao e rere, ko te rite i te puku e kai momotu nei.

There the murderers sit at Waitomo

Whare and others, speak so I can hear

I wrote a letter¹⁰², which the old man carried

¹⁰⁰ The note is as follows, mō Ruihi e noho ana ki Rangiaohia, nō tana tāne whaiāipo.

¹⁰¹ Located in the Waikato region renowned for the Waitomo caves.

When I reached the hill, your distress tumbles away
So that it is overcome like this, so I can see
The place where Ruihi is, who eats away at my heart
What can be done to stop my love for my sweetheart?
Lest the tears flow down from my eyes
The cloud floats as my gut eats away at me.

¹⁰² Interesting use of a modern image here so soon after colonisation.

He Whakakapinga

Conclusion

The aim of this dissertation was to transcribe, translate and annotate twenty mōteatea collected during the northern land wars of the 1840's. However, this project developed, evolved and grew into something much more than that aim alone.

On the course of this journey, greater understandings of te ao Māori occurred. Much of the intricacies and complexities associated with te ao Māori were at one point or another examined. Working with the material dated from last century meant that it provided an insight into the day to day operation of Māori communities during those turbulent times. It was a humbling experience to encounter similar aspects of Māori culture which are still so prevalent in today's contemporary society.

Another feature of working with this manuscript was the inspiration to compose kapahaka items and material for current and future use. As they were all mōteatea, each individual composition had its own unique characteristics, language features and conventions. As a composer there is always an on-going need for fresh material and it can be a struggle to create quality compositions. Having worked with this material in all aspects from transcription to annotation, adopting some aspects of these mōteatea into new material was exciting and refreshing. A change in mindset is important for any composer to consider in order for their compositions to meet the needs and demands of the haka groups.

A definite advantage which emerged from working with the material of this dissertation was the stronger sense of connection with iwi. After discovering that not all of the mōteatea were from the Ngāpuhi area, it meant that other iwi from around New Zealand would need to be consulted. It was an enjoyable part of the process learning the origin stories of other iwi and learning about particular language conventions that may relate specifically to any given tribal group.

With a passion for learning te reo Māori this research proved extremely beneficial. Working with material transcribed from last century meant there were no shortages of learning opportunities. The language itself and the conventions that some of the mōteatea contain are interesting as they provide contrast and similarity in some cases to that of how te reo Māori is

spoken and written in today's world. Having the opportunity to widen the scope of one's personal language acquisition and awareness has been beneficial.

Added to the aspects outlined above some opportunities and prospects for future endeavors presented themselves. As mentioned in boundaries and limitations, a study of regional variation in style could prove a useful task for the future. An investigation into why so many of the *mōteatea* were not of Ngāpuhi origin would add to what is available in this dissertation.

It also seems necessary to produce writing around appropriate ways to treat these works. We need to discuss how we can ensure that people do not continue to mimic those whose work has received much criticism. Because so much of the literature that exists on the topic was published by non-Māori it is difficult to ascertain whether translating the *mōteatea* and presenting them in this way is appropriate from a Māori perspective. For example, was it really appropriate for this dissertation to contain compositions from all different areas of New Zealand, or was it better and more culturally appropriate to have chosen twenty compositions from the Ngāpuhi area only. Literature on safe practice for Māori and non-Māori alike who choose to delve into the untold amounts of *mōteatea* available to ensure that while they are being made readily available to a general audience this is being done in a culturally appropriate way that upholds the intentions and desires of Māori.

Finally, work of this nature is never complete as there is always scope to develop and extend. Instead it is a living object which always has the potential for further growth and is a work in progress that is submitted for critique at a given time.

Ngā Puna Kōrero

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Māhere whenua

Maps

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